



THE INDEPENDENT

Monday 27 October 1997

(IR50p) 45p

No 3,438

INSIDE TODAY

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DEBORAH
ROSS



finds Nicola
Horlick is
human
after all



12/STYLE
Hot denim
that is walking
out of the
shops

This man forged a Van Gogh. Did he fake Gauguin and Cézanne as well?



Portrait of a fake artist: The man depicted standing anxiously rubbing his hands is Claude-Emile Schuffenecker who, according to a television documentary broadcast last night was 'almost certainly' the real painter of a Vincent Van Gogh sunflowers picture, sold for nearly £25m at auction. According to the art writer Geraldine Norman, further investigations could one day reveal the unknown French art teacher as the true author of works by his friend Paul Gauguin (who painted this picture of Schuffenecker and his family in 1889) and Paul Cézanne. Full story, page 20 Musée D'Orsay, Paris

Grand prix ace dents his good name

Michael Schumacher, thought by some to be the greatest racing driver of all time, lost not only the Formula One world championship yesterday but also much of the global respect that his skills have earned him.

When it came to the decisive moment during the final race of the season at Jerez, Schumacher's ambition seemed to eclipse his good sense.

The 28-year-old German driver almost knocked Jacques Villeneuve, his rival for the championship, out of the Grand Prix of Europe.

Schumacher, his Ferrari fading, knew that the French-Canadian would win the world title if he managed to finish at least sixth. What happened next was witnessed by millions of television viewers all over the world.

On the 48th lap of the 69-lap race, the race leader's Ferrari veered into the chasing Williams-Renault as Villeneuve attempted to pass inside on a tight right-hand bend.

The collision left Schumacher stranded in the gravel trap, while Villeneuve, despite a damaged car and ruined front tyres, eventually finished third to secure the title. "Michael had his eyes closed, or maybe his hands slipped on the wheel," a diplomatic Villeneuve said, while the race stewards took no action, deeming the incident a "racing accident" and no one's fault.

Schumacher's demise was relished in the Williams camp; he collided with Damon Hill in Adelaide three years ago, denying the Briton, then driving for Williams, the title. Both drivers were eliminated by that incident and Schumacher, ahead in the standings, took the championship. The general view at yesterday's race was that Schumacher, leading by one point, would not expose himself to the risk of further public condemnation. However, Schumacher and the other drivers operate in an environment and business where the stakes are high and second place is regarded as first of the losers.

Stirling Moss, acknowledged as the greatest driver never to have become World Champion, recently observed: "This is no longer a sport."

— Derek Allsob

Race report, Sport tabloid

TODAY'S NEWS

Scotland may recruit own defence force

First there was Braveheart, then came the Scottish vote for devolution. Now the talk is about raising a force to defend the Scottish people. Glasgow University has drawn up proposals for an independent Scottish Defence Force of 12,500 troops, 30 ships and 100 aircraft. Page 6

Refresher driving tests

Motorists could be forced to take refresher driving tests every 10 years. The idea is aimed at reducing the number of accidents in Europe, where 45,000 people are killed on the roads each year. Motoring organisations pointed that it would not tackle the main cause of problem — young drivers. Page 3

SEEN & HEARD

Most horticultural competitions involve prizes for the largest marrow or biggest turnip, but judges at a contest in Spain this weekend were looking for the best cannabis crop. More than 50 marijuana lovers gathered at a private club for the first 'Madrid Marijuana Cup'. The organisers are lobbying the Spanish government to legalise the growing of cannabis for personal consumption. But anxious contestants had a long wait before the winner was announced. Each judge had to smoke 10 samples and, realising they would be in no condition to make a quick decision, organisers allowed them 24 hours to recover their senses before deciding which was the best.

Secret video reveals parents' brutality

A controversial secret video operation in two hospitals filmed parents carrying out sadistic attacks on their children. Some of the adults later confessed to killing children in their care.

A team of experts led by cot death expert Professor David Southall will reveal today a shocking catalogue of attacks on babies and young children by apparently caring parents and step-parents.

The secret cameras, which filmed parents suffocating, punching, kicking and poisoning children between the ages of two months and four years were set up in the Royal Brompton Hospital in London and the North Staffordshire Hospital in Stoke-on-Trent between 1986 and 1994. The videotaped evidence led to 33 criminal prosecutions.

All but one of the 39 children attacked were placed in care and it emerged that 12 of their brothers and sisters had died in sudden or unexpected circumstances originally thought to be cot deaths.

Four parents admitting suffocating eight of their siblings. Deliberate suffocation had been observed in 30 of the children under surveillance.

Although Professor Southall's methods have been condemned by some families, he believes the use of hidden cameras has been vindicated by the clear evidence of physical abuse.

The findings, which are to be published next week in the world's most widely read child health journal, have serious implications for the prevention of child abuse in Britain, which emphasises working with the family to resolve any problems. Professor Southall thinks a small but significant band of parents are suffering

from serious personality disorders. They cannot be trusted — to do so would leave children in danger.

He said: "The United Kingdom has probably one of the best child protection systems in the world. Yet our work, as well as our clinical experience in child abuse, leads us to believe that the British philosophy, enshrined in the (1989) Children Act, of working together with parents, will generally fail to protect children from this kind of abuse."

The authors, who also include another consultant paediatrician, Dr Martin Samuels, and North Staffordshire Hospital's honorary registrar, Dr Michael Plunkett, call for "sweeping changes" in the approach to child protection in Britain.

Where there is severe abusive behaviour.

BY LOUISE JURY

"more assertive methods of investigation and decision making" might be needed.

The report said: "A proportion of serious child abuse is inflicted by severely disturbed, deceitful but plausible parents."

"This abuse may be difficult to recognise, life-threatening, and associated with extreme degrees of physical and mental harm that are difficult to imagine. Covert surveillance has revealed that many such parents appeared caring and kind in the presence of professionals, yet within seconds of being alone with the child became cruel and sadistic."

The consultants point out that in many countries child protection programmes are rudimentary, if not non-existent.

"Given the contents of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child,

programmes to address child abuse, particularly that involving parents with this form of psychological and personality disorder, must become a priority for all member states."

All the children videoed had been strongly suspected by paediatricians, social workers and police child protection officers of being in serious danger of life-threatening abuse by a parent or step-parent.

Although adults who inflict such harm have been described as suffering from Munchausen Syndrome by Proxy, where they create symptoms in a child or another victim to get attention, Professor Southall believes such a description is inadequate in the cases he describes.

The abuse is more deliberate and extreme than is normally associated with Munchausen's.

However, his methods have come under criticism in some quarters. Keele University psychiatrists expressed concern about the infringement of privacy and the risk of exposing children to further harm in the surveillance operations.

In a separate study of babies with breathing problems, some parents were unhappy that their children had been placed on a new type of respirator devised by the professor.

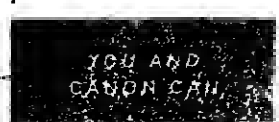
Chris Oldham, a traffic engineer and friend of a woman convicted of killing her daughter by poisoning her, urged caution in assessing the findings. "I'm quite certain that there are some mothers who thoroughly deserve to have their children taken away from them. But I think over-enthusiasm by Professor Southall could bring his work into disrepute."

The mother of the woman, who hopes to appeal against conviction, said they met the professor briefly. "We definitely felt that he had made up his mind and anything we said would be discounted."

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WEATHER The Eye, page 10
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Shoppers force big stores to behave ethically

A 'counter revolution' to bring ethical policies to supermarkets has started. But Glenda Cooper, Consumer Affairs Correspondent, says Third World workers still wait to see them translated into reality.

Consumer power works, says the charity Christian Aid. A year after the charity launched the drive to make supermarkets adopt more ethical policies, seven of the biggest chains

have done so and six are drawing up codes of conduct.

But the charity warns that in places such as the banana plantations of Costa Rica conditions are still "a world apart from the language of workers' rights and good labour practice being discussed in the company boardrooms".

When Christian Aid started its Global Supermarket campaign last year, tens of thousands of consumers responded, handing in receipts worth millions of pounds back to supermarket managers and sending tens of thousands of letters to super-

market directors. One church in London collected more than £45,000 in till receipts in two months and handed them back to local supermarkets.

In 12 months an industry worth £82bn in total responded. "In this process of flexing their muscles, consumers are creating a new form of citizenship," said Tim Lang, Professor of Food Policy at Thames Valley University, and a member of an expert panel set up by Christian Aid to monitor the supermarkets.

The charity drew up an extensive questionnaire, judged by

ETHICAL TOP TEN

1. Tesco
2. Sainsbury and Sainsbury's
3. CWS
4. ASDA
5. Waitrose
6. Kwik Save
7. Somerfield
8. Morrisons
9. Marks & Spencer

an independent panel, to test the supermarket's commitment to ethical trading policies.

Sources said yesterday that the supermarkets had been unhappy with the idea of a league

table ranking the different stores for their ethical policies and had used "heavy persuasion" and "a variety of arguments" to try to dissuade Christian Aid. During a series of tense meetings, however, the charity had made it clear they were determined to publish, which the chains accepted.

The report found that Tesco had made the most progress, while Morrisons and Marks & Spencer lagged far behind. Sainsbury's, which came joint second, has been running pilot schemes to see how codes of conduct, which look at workers'

pay and conditions, will work in practice. Tesco and Sainsbury both plan to include ethical trading as an item in their 1998 Annual Report. CWS and Sainsbury have earmarked money to cover a pilot phase of ethical trading and Tesco has allocated as much as £2m.

Of the seven who have adopted a corporate policy, only Kwik Save have set neither concrete targets or objectives and Asda and Tesco have set goals for both the next year and the next five years.

While Christian Aid applauds the progress that has

been made, it warns that good ideas have yet to be translated into reality. "It is good to see that supermarkets are aware at last that they must respond to consumer demand for ethical and fairly traded food, but their stated commitment is not yet translating through to enough products on their shelves," said Joanna Blythman, the food journalist and a member of the expert panel.

'Change at the checkout? Supermarkets and ethical business' (£3.50), is available from Christian Aid, PO Box 100, London SE1 7RT.

IN THE
INDEPENDENT
TOMORROW

When Mum and Dad smoke dope, what do they tell the children? A middle-class, professional couple's dilemma



HEALTH

How hairdressers can do your head in - and the woman who is campaigning to change the law



An avid Manchester United fan walks with his father through the tunnel yesterday at Old Trafford, the team's home ground, clutching branded sports goods bought in the club's megastore

Photograph: Steve Hill/Newstream

High Street Rovers: how football plans to score in the fashion business

Leading Premier League football clubs, including Manchester United, Newcastle and Liverpool, are in talks to establish a chain of shops selling new ranges of clothing, team kits and merchandise. Andrew Yates looks at the latest attempts by the clubs to exploit their powerful brands.

The country's biggest football clubs are looking to cash in on the huge growth in the leisure-wear industry by setting up their own shops. They also want to team up with the biggest football clubs on the Continent to establish an international retailing business.

Freddie Fletcher, chief executive of Newcastle United, said: "We are just about to open our sixth shop in Newcastle which is enough for us. Now we are anxious to open shops with various British partners in other

parts of the country. We would also look at shops with clubs in Europe."

Newcastle is keen to open its first shop in a London airport and has held preliminary talks with BAA, which runs Heathrow and Gatwick airports, about finding a large site. It is also eyeing up new outlets on the high street.

Manchester United and Liverpool are considering joining forces with the Georgies. Other big clubs are also understood to be interested in doing a deal. However, Newcastle is likely to forge ahead with new stores of its own even if other teams decide to drop out.

The shops will sell leisure clothing ranges and replica kits as well as anything from wallets to ties embossed with club logos. Newcastle will stock its own clothing range, called 1892, which has been developed by George Davies, the former head of Next who has also developed clothes for Asda. The club may even buy in Liverpool and Manchester United shirts and football merchandise to sell in its shops if the other teams

decide not to take a stake in the new venture.

The first shops are likely to be in London, but if the experiment proves successful stores will be rolled out across the UK and into Europe's major cities.

Manchester United, Liverpool and Newcastle are the best supported clubs in the UK. If the clubs do establish a national chain of stores, the move could pose a big threat to the plethora of sports-clothes shops chains that have exploded onto the high street over the past 10 years, such as JJB Sports and the 'World of Football'.

Football is becoming an increasingly commercial business with clubs looking at a host of new ways to exploit their brand name.

Manchester United set the ball rolling by introducing an extensive range of merchandise products at its club shops. Ardent supporters can now buy golf balls, cheque book holders and even luxury soap.

Next, the major clubs plan to set up their own television channels, which fans would

pay a monthly fee to watch. Manchester United has already signed a deal with Granada and Rupert Murdoch's satellite broadcaster BSkyB to establish MUTV. The channel will, from next autumn, broadcast magazine-style programmes about players and the club as well as friendly and reserve team games. Newcastle, Leeds and many other Premier League clubs are known to be planning their own pay-TV ventures.

The clubs are also hatching plans to expand their home-shopping businesses, selling clothing ranges via catalogues, through television channels and on the Internet.

If all that was not enough, English clubs are turning their attention overseas in a bid to tap the millions of fans they have around the globe. Newcastle has just signed a deal to sell its clothes ranges in Scandinavia and is in negotiations with a wholesaler in Hong Kong to establish a business in Asia. Manchester United is also in talks with local suppliers to start selling its clothes throughout the Far East.

Drivers face 10-year refresher tests

Motorists may have to take a refresher driving test every 10 years in an effort to reduce the number of accidents, it emerged yesterday.

Under plans being drawn up by the European Parliament, those who failed the test would lose their licences, according to a report on BBC Radio 4's *Europe Now* programme last night.

MEPs believe the scheme would help reduce the number of road accidents - 45,000 people are killed on Europe's roads every year - and argue making drivers retake the test would force them to correct bad or dangerous driving habits.

Plans are already under discussion to reduce the drink-drive limit in a new European-wide limit of 50 microgrammes per 100ml. The new level, dubbed "more than one and you're done", will mean drivers could safely have only one pint of beer or two glasses of wine.

Although considerably lower than the present British limit of 80 microgrammes per 100ml, a maximum intake of 50 microgrammes per 100ml is already the maximum permitted in France, Holland, Austria and Greece.

MEPs are also concerned by an upsurge in aggressive driving and incidents of "road rage". Re-testing, it is claimed, would enable examiners to fail such motorists and strip them of their licences because of their attitude.

Some motoring organisations approve of the idea, claiming that lessons and refresher tests would improve driving standards, but ministers are understood to be against the scheme.

They say it should be left to the courts to deal with dangerous drivers.

The Automobile Association is also against the plan. Rebecca Rees, a spokeswoman for the AA, said: "The AA

can't see any real road safety benefit in testing every driver every 10 years.

"It's not really addressing the people who cause the majority of road accidents, which are youngsters."

"Another problem will be enforcement and administration. Driving test centres are already stretched."

Recent changes in the law in Britain mean drivers face a re-test if they notch up six penalty points within two years of gaining a full driving licence.

Ms Rees added: "Most drivers in the UK are safe drivers. To make everybody take a driving test every 10 years would have no real safety benefit at all."

Britain has the lowest road accident death rate in the European Union: roads in the UK are seven times safer than in Greece - the country with the worst record.

- Kate Watson-Smyth

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Hume asks Blair for abortion lead

Cardinal Basil Hume yesterday called on the Prime Minister to convince the Labour Party and the British nation that "abortion is wrong".

The leader of the Catholic church, who this week had joined a "pro-life chain" of anti-abortion protesters marking today's 30th anniversary of the Abortion Act, said he wanted to change the "minds and hearts" of people in order to stop abortions.

He told GMTV's *Sunday* programme: "My message to Tony Blair would be: 'You are a man of integrity... and you see things clearly. I would have thought you should give leadership within your party, and try to convince them that abortion is wrong and that we ought, as a nation, to do something about it.'"

He added that people used to accept slavery but now everyone appreciated how wrong it was, and that the same would be true of abortion. "In 100 years' time, perhaps less, people will come to see this really was a grave scandal in our society at this period."

He claimed that nearly 5 million lives had been taken by legal abortions in the past 30 years, and hoped the Prime Minister would try to change his party's attitude to abortion.

Lord Steel, who piloted the Abortion Act through the Commons 30 years ago, stood by the original law because of the damage being done by backstreet abortions before the process was legalised.

Speaking on the same programme, Lord Steel said: "The decisions made by Parliament, on a free vote, by convincing majorities in both Houses, were absolutely right. It's very easy for people now to forget what Britain was like 30 years ago."

"People forget that we had... between 30 and 50 women a year dying as a result of criminal abortion, people forget that the public wards of every hospital were cluttered with patients admitted for what was called septic or incomplete abortion, nobody knew how many people committed suicide."

Lord Steel said he respected the Roman Catholic position but added: "Neither Cardinal Hume nor anyone else should inflict their particular view on the rest of the population."

"Anyone who wants to abolish the Act or restrict the Act in any way will have us back to the desperate situation which existed in the 1940s and 1950s in this country."

Letters, page 14
Polly Toynbee, page 15



Lockerbie families back trial move

Flanked by relatives of victims of the 1988 Lockerbie bomb, a Scottish law professor yesterday argued that only 142 words were needed for the trial of two Libyan suspects to be held in a "neutral" country.

Professor Robert Black, of the University of Edinburgh, presented a proposed amendment to the Scottish Criminal Justice Bill, which he said had taken just 45 minutes to draft. He argued that it belied British government claims that there were too many practical obstacles to the proposal that the men accused of blowing up Pan Am

flight 103, killing 270 people, be tried in a country other than Scotland or the United States.

The proposal - which is supported by the Organisation of African Unity, the Arab League and Colonel Muammar Gaddafi - was controversially lobbied for at the weekend by South African President Nelson Mandela at the Commonwealth Conference, after he dropped in on the Libyan leader en route to Edinburgh.

Yesterday, Dr Jim Swire, spokesman for the British relatives, who now support a neutral venue, thanked President

Mandela for his intervention. Clutching a picture of his daughter Flora, who died in the explosion, Dr Swire (above) accused Britain of "sympathetically" following the US government in demanding that the trial be held in Scotland or America.

Dr Swire reminded those present that while the bombing has become an international political football it involved the "brutal premeditated murder of totally innocent people". It was, he said, the families' tragedy, not something for politicians and lawyers to play with.

— Mary Brad

Trimble backed on talks stance

David Trimble's Ulster Unionist party, Northern Ireland's largest political grouping, has given conspicuously strong endorsement to his decision to stay in the Stormont multi-party talks which includes Sinn Féin.

The party's annual conference on Saturday, which was unusually well-attended, provided near-unanimous support for continuing participation in the Stormont talks. Only a few months ago, the party seemed dead set against taking part in any form of activity which included Sinn Féin unless the IRA decommissioned at least some of its weapons.

The other two main Unionist parties, led by the Rev Ian Paisley and Robert McCartney, have withdrawn from the process and are campaigning for the Ulster Unionists to follow suit.

But the party's clear approval of negotiations may lend a more stable air to the Stormont talks, as well as providing fresh heart for those who hope for progress.

The UUP's continuing presence in the talks, and its active participation in far-reaching negotiations, are considered essential if any headway is to be made.

In the key conference debate on Saturday, two of Mr Trimble's most prominent critics spoke, but noticeably refrained from calling for withdrawal from Stormont.

Some observers viewed this as a telling indication that they realised the general tide of opinion was flowing strongly against them.

The criticism which was heard came from much lower levels. One speaker warned that the party could be railroaded "into a sell-out scenario which will lead not only to the destruction of this party but also ultimately the destruction of the union." He was heckled and drew little applause.

The weekend also brought sharp reminders of the continuing potential for loyalist violence when a man was killed in a boobytrap car bombing in Bangor, Co Down. The incident appeared part of an internal feud.

In another ominous development, the small but violent Loyalist Volunteer Force issued a death threat against senior Irish civil servants working in Belfast. This was condemned by both the British and Irish governments.

— David McKittrick

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Gates predicts end of telephone numbers

Telephone numbers will disappear in the future, according to the Microsoft chairman, Bill Gates.

In his latest syndicated column, reproduced at the Microsoft Web site, Mr Gates spells out his belief that there are problems with telephone numbers and e-mail addresses in

their present form. "Telephone numbers will disappear", and computer software will take over the way people communicate," he wrote in response to a question from someone identified only as encounter@farpoint.org.

"First you will indicate whom you want to contact, selecting

from a personal address book or a large directory, then you'll choose what kind of contact you want. Software will take care of the rest."

Telephone numbers "aren't a great way to identify people" - they are "inadequate addresses in a world exploding with communication", he added.

DAILY POEM

The Schoolboy at Home

by Richard Hill Sandys

The pony's lamed, the cat is dead,
The pigs are in the tulip bed;
The flue with rubbish has been filled,
And all my lady's plants are killed;
A strange wet cur of low degree
Is planted on the rich settee,
The grave mackaw has lost his tail,
And slowly learns a Brussels veil;
The pistol's cleaned with sister's shawl,
For midday practice in the hall;
And little Jane, so prim and good,
Is scampering wild about the wood;
The maids are whimpering with affright,
Because a ghost was seen last night;
The linen's burnt, the roller's split,
The tangled chain won't turn the spit;
The ale is running all about,
And in the urn's a ragged clout;
And all around, at every pass,
Is smash and clash and broken glass.
And here's a neighbour come to fret,
And, mercy! there's a hive upset!

This week's poems come from the new, 800-page *Penguin Book of Victorian Verse*, selected and edited by Daniel Karlin (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, £25). Richard Hill Sandys, a harrister, published his only volume of verse in 1847.

BA checks 777 jet fleet

British Airways has launched a series of checks on its fleet of giant Boeing 777s after warnings of a design fault.

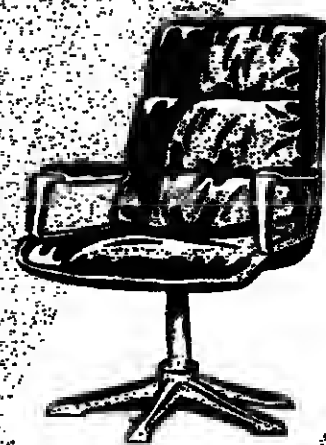
The manufacturer, General Electric, is insisting on inspecting the airline's 30 GE90 engines after discovering tiny cracks on a key part.

The 2mm-wide cracks on the seals which rotate with the fan blades are the latest problem to dog production of the jet engines. Now, after inspecting the engines on BA's 14-strong fleet of 777s GE must then adapt them to prevent the fault reappearing. BA insisted the fault did not jeopardise passenger safety. However, the airline was taking no chances.

Lottery win

Four ticketholders shared Saturday's National Lottery prize of more than £8m. The winning numbers were 10, 21, 27, 38, 40, and 44. The bonus was 34.

NEWS SPORT WHAT'S ON FUN KNOWLEDGE MONEY SHOPPING TALK INTERNET



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5/EDUCATION

Progressive school faces closure after inspectors call



Pupil power: Children in the library at Summerhill, after voting to let in the photographer Photograph: Sunday Telegraph

Summerhill, the progressive Suffolk school where lessons are optional and children make the rules, has fallen foul of Her Majesty's Inspectors once too often. Lucy Ward, Education Correspondent, says that if it does not toe the line it could be forced to close, after 76 years.

A government threat to close Summerhill school unless it achieves "minimum educational standards" puts at risk alternative forms of education, its head teacher said yesterday.

Zoe Readhead, daughter of Summerhill's progressive founder, AS Neil, pledged to shut the school herself rather than compromise her father's vision of a "free school" whose liberal ethos has inspired and infuriated educationalists in equal measure. Mrs Readhead has six months in which to convince officials from the Department

for Education and Employment that her school, where some children do not learn to read until the age of eight, can sit with Labour's uncompromising back-to-basics philosophy after inspectors visiting for a day last summer found evidence of weaknesses in maths and English teaching.

A letter to the head this term from the DfEE allows Summerhill until next spring to make improvements. If it fails to do so, David Blunkett, Secretary of State for Education, will intervene and the school will be served with a Notice of Complaint, potentially leading to its removal from the department's register of approved independent schools. Without registration, the school cannot legally operate.

Squeezing out alternative schools such as Summerhill could lead to greater homogeneity in education, Mrs Readhead warned yesterday. "I think if they start with Summerhill they will continue... I am disappointed that a Labour government seems to be taking this line. There are schools run on similar lines run all over the world and any threat to Summerhill is a threat to them."

The school, set in a rambling house near Leiston, Suffolk, has regularly attracted criticism from inspectors. A 1994 report by the inspection agency Ofsted noted that staff and pupils' shared interest in "unconventional extra-curricular activities" including nude bathing, and contrasted the "smart new animal centre" with the scruffiness of some pupil accommodation.

Mrs Readhead plans to work with inspectors to seek a compromise, but insists that the school's policy of optional lessons is non-negotiable. "You can't say to children you are free to do what you want but then say you have got to be in maths by 9 o'clock because I say so."

Only a vote by pupils, who meet each week to devise and enforce their own school rules, or Laws, could change the policy.

Former pupil Jason Sykes, 30, at Summerhill from 1972-83 and now a chiropractor, strongly defends the quality of his education. Most pupils at the school, which last summer achieved 63 good GCSE passes out of 98 exams taken, go on to further education and university, he points out.

Higher standards in rural areas

The Government is to extend an pilot scheme, aimed at raising school standards in the inner cities, to some remote rural areas. Poverty-stricken country areas are to be given extra support as "education action zones".

During the general election campaign, Labour promised city-based zones which would aim to cut truancy, improve discipline and achieve greater numbers of exam passes.

Although most people assume that the worst poverty exists in urban areas, some local authorities have pointed out that there are also many remote areas where wages are low, unemployment is high and school achievement is unsatisfactory. These areas struggle with the twin problems of low parental expectations and high costs caused by the need for extra transport and smaller schools.

A source at the Department of Education and Employment said consultation on its recent White Paper had raised the issue.

"I think what we are doing is to recognise that the issues many urban areas face can apply in rural areas as well," he said.

Bids will be invited for up to 25 pilot areas which will receive extra support. An action forum in each zone, which will include parents, business people and community representatives, will

set targets for improvement, plan reorganisations and even propose new schools. It will have first call on a range of government initiatives, such as homework centres and specialist schools, and may be able to attract extra "advanced skills teachers".

Other extra support might include bringing in a head teacher from outside the zone to give help to one or more of the area's schools.

It is not yet clear how much extra cash will be available to the action zones, though it is thought there might be some grants on offer.

Details will be published in the Government's Education Bill, expected to be published around the third week in November.

Today, ministers are expected to announce concessions on another part of the Bill - church schools - after meeting religious leaders to discuss the issue. The bishops had threatened to vote down parts of the Bill in the House of Lords.

Changes are expected to include a reversal on plans to cut numbers of church governors and a concession over proposals that 2,700 voluntary controlled schools should become foundation schools - placing them in the same category as the former opted-out schools.

— Fran Abrams



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Calls cost 50p per minute at all times. Winner picked at random after final close 29 October 1997. Usual Newspaper Publishing rules apply. Editor's decision is final.

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Bravehearts stirred by army plan

The notion of an independent Scottish army may still terrify the English with images of kilted warriors in blue face paint. But, says Jon Burrell, last month's devolution vote has prompted a debate on the need for Scotland to have the means to defend its own borders.

The nearest Scotland currently has to an independent fighting force is the 85-strong private army which swears allegiance to the 11th Duke of Atholl and parades for tourists outside his Highland castle.

Scots do not feel under military threat and, despite the effect of *Braveheart* in reinforcing the warrior tradition in the national consciousness, Scottish soldiering still means taking orders from the Ministry of Defence in Whitehall.

But with last month's emphatic vote for an Edinburgh parliament the mood has changed. Suddenly there are calls for Scotland to have an independent fighting force of 12,500 troops, 30 ships and 100 aircraft.

The University of Glasgow has drawn up proposals for an independent Scottish Defence Force to defend borders and take part in international peace-keeping operations. Controversially, the author of the paper is believed to be a serving Army officer writing under the pseudonym Jack Hawthorn.

The Scottish Army would be primarily made up of those soldiers currently serving with the Scottish regiments of the regular British Army.

Controversially, the exception would be the Scots Guards which would be left as a "quasi-mercenary Scottish regiment in the British Army much along the same lines as the Gurkhas." The paper states: "Given the popular perception that they have somehow become tainted by their long association with England, this would seem by far the best solution."

The Scottish fleet would include four frigates, four submarines and a dozen patrol vessels to protect fishing waters and oil installations, which are regarded as potential sources of conflict or terrorist attack.

Scotland's nuclear capability should be abandoned, says the report as "a hopeless economic burden on such a small country". But the paper suggests that Scotland should have a Ballistic Missile Force of a dozen launchers and 50 missiles as a non-nuclear strategic deterrent.

Although it is accepted that "Scotland is unlikely to have or want dependent territories or garrisons overseas", it is thought its forces could play a valuable part in international peace-keeping, disaster relief or humanitarian missions.

Professor Hew Strachan, of the University's Scottish Centre for War Studies, which commissioned the paper, said Scotland's fighting tradition was mainly derived from military campaigns since the union with England.

He said: "Before the union in 1707, although Scotland produced individual warriors of distinction, its army was not particularly successful, with the isolated exception of Bannockburn. The Scottish army, when Scotland was a recognisable independent state, was not a particularly good army."



Fast ways: Two women walk among traditional black houses on Erisay, in the Hebrides, recorded by Werner Kieseling (below) Photograph: Courtesy, School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh

Unsung hero of the islands becomes a national treasure



Life on the Hebridean island of Eriskay was recorded in 1934 by Werner Kissling. His 20-minute film, *A Poem of Remote Lives*, is an acknowledged masterpiece. But who was he? Stephen Goodwin reports on one man's search for an answer.

Michael Russell, chief executive of the Scottish National Party, took time out last week from try-

ing to conjure victory in the Paisley by-election for a very unpolitical occasion. While running election and referendum campaigns, Russell has tried to solve the enigma of Werner Kissling,

Kissling's life journey began in 1895 in the luxury of an 18th-century castle in Silesia – then part of Germany, today in Poland – and ended in the equivalent of a pauper's grave in Dumfries in 1988. Russell's attempt to fill in the intervening years is published this month under the same title as Kissling's film of Eriskay – *A Poem of Remote Lives*.

The second half of the book features evocative photographs of islanders, their work and low "black houses" takko by Kissling no his Leica III. Barefoot children shoulder wicker baskets used for carrying peat, women rake hay and card fleece, and weathered men cut peat and tend the lobster pots.

Russell, a former television producer, places it between Robert Flaherty's dramatized *Man of Aran* and Leni Riefenstahl's propagandist *Triumph of the Will* — commissioned by Hitler to glorify the 1934 Nuremberg rally. "It is Kissling

who perfectly captures actual life ... does not make it perform or parade," says Russell.

But that was one summer of filming by an amateur ethnologist. What else was he? On the headstone friends had erected two years after his death it says simply "Soldier Diplomat Scholar Gentleman". Born into a wealthy brewing family, Kissling joined the elite Prussian Guards in 1914, transferred to the Navy and after the First World War joined the diplomatic service of the Weimar Republic.

An aside to Chancellor Gustav Stresemann at the time of Hitler's 1922 Beer Hall Putsch. Kissling met and despised the Nazis — "a load of ignorant bores." Why he left the Diplomatic Service is one mystery. Russell was unable to solve.

Perhaps resignation was connected with his homosexuality. Russell hints that Kissling discovered his sexual inclinations in the Berlin of the Twenties, but he was discreet, or celibate, in his later life. There are, though, knowing references to the "valci" who accompanied Kissling on the yacht he chartered for his first visit to Eriskany.

Private wealth enabled him to spend most of the Thirties as a "research student" with a flat in Cambridge and visits to the Outer Hebrides. He also became a "self-appointed mouth-piece" for the Eriskay islanders, taking up social problems with MPs and ministers.

But the Second World War brought leisured scholarship to an end. In 1939 he was interned in the Tower of London and later sent to the Isle of Man internment camp where he was a welfare officer. His brother, Georg Conrad, a major in the German army, was involved in the July Plot to kill Hitler. On arrest, Georg was handed his revolver and killed himself.

After the war, Kissling managed to get £2m of the family fortune out of Germany. He bought the King Arms Hotel in Melrose, which was a comfortable nursing home for his mother and an agreeable place to entertain friends, but a business disaster. By 1968 he was broke, over 70, and homeless.

● *A Poem of Remote Lives, The Enigma of Werner Küssling*, by Michael Russell. Published by NWP. Price £20.

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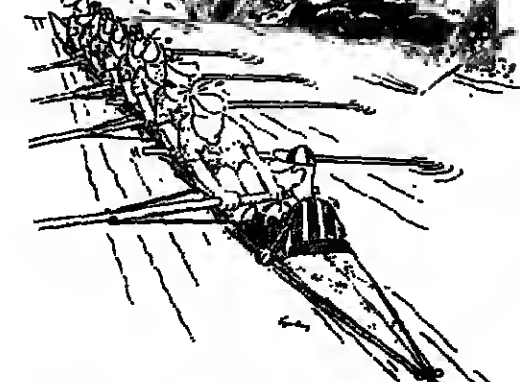
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The Lord Chancellor plans to abolish legal aid for most civil claims and stop deserving cases reaching the courts, say lawyers. Medical negligence actions will among the worst hit. Victor Gollancz and Lord Justice look at opposition to the reforms.

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the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age is expected to increase from 1.1 billion to 1.5 billion. The number of people aged 65 and over is expected to increase from 200 million to 400 million. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion.

L'Art de l'



How women will lose when doctors get it wrong

The Lord Chancellor's plans to abolish legal aid for most civil claims will stop deserving cases reaching the court, say lawyers. Medical negligence actions will be among the worst hit. Michael Streeter and Glenda Cooper look at opposition to the reforms.

According to the solicitor Sarah Harman, the full horror of the recent cervical smear test scare at a Kent hospital trust would never have been uncovered if the new legal aid reforms had been in operation.

An internal inquiry published in February - later described as "economical with the truth" - had underestimated the number of women injured and failed to point out that five women had died.

"Matters could have ended [then] had it not been for the number of cases proceeding against the trust with the benefit of legal aid," said Ms Harman, of the Canterbury-based solicitors Harman & Harman.

The fact that some women affected got legal aid not only meant they were able to win compensation, it also led to an independent inquiry, published last week, which uncovered the scale of the problems at Kent and Canterbury hospital.

"The full extent of the smear reporting, the involvement and indifference of hospital staff at all levels and the number of women affected would not have been revealed had it not been for the existence of legal aid," said Ms Harman.

She and other lawyers are worried that Lord Irvine of Lairg's proposals to replace legal aid with a no-win, no-fee conditional system for civil cases involving a claim for damages will deny access to justice for many poorer people. Issues of public importance will also go untested. Medical negligence cases involve expensive preparation work - for example med-

ical reports - before the lawyers can assess whether a case is winnable or not. Such up-front fees will dissuade victims from having even the necessary groundwork done - and the case will not go ahead.

Other law firms specialising in cases of individuals against public bodies such as the police, immigration and housing authorities fear the risk of conditional fees will drastically reduce court actions.

Louise Christian, of solicitors Christian Fletcher, who specialise in such cases, said the reforms would force the firm away from such work because of the risks and high costs.

"The people who will suffer will be clients wishing to claim damages from the police, government or government-related authorities and the whole cause of accountability and justice."

The difficulty of such cases is that though they may raise issues of great importance - for example ill-treatment of a prisoner in a cell - they may not attract huge damages, may need costly preparation work and may rely on the evidence of the victim only.

Campaigning bodies such as the Legal Action Group accept that conditional fees could exist as an alternative to legal aid - but not as a substitute.

Roger Smith, director of LAG, said: "It simply does not make economic sense to target a group of the poorest people ... for a major cut in compensation."

The Government's aim is to reduce the £671m legal aid bill for civil cases, around £300m of which is for damages and money claims, the area under attack.

Another area of concern for opponents of the reforms is that, with conditional fees, a losing plaintiff has to pay for the defendant's costs. One suggestion is for an insurance system, already in use in some personal injury claims, to be extended. However, the cost of premiums in medical negligence cases could run into thousands of pounds - costs way beyond the means of poorer claimants and which neither legal firms nor the Government would be clamouring to pay.



Sian McGregor: Legal aid allowed her to bring her case

Photograph: Mike Gunnill

'It's a moral thing. If you don't push, nothing is done'

Sian McGregor would never have brought her case for medical negligence and distress against Kent and Canterbury Hospitals NHS Trust if she had not had the option of legal aid. "I couldn't have afforded to do that. I felt it was morally right to sue but I just couldn't have stood the anxiety."

In her 40s and living in Canterbury, she had smears in May and November 1993, October 1995 and May 1996. There had been borderline changes noted, but otherwise she had been given the all-clear. In reality she had developed two cancerous tumours and at one point faced having a hysterectomy.

"They should have referred me to a gynaecologist after the

two smears in 1993 but they didn't," says Sian. "They said there were small changes but not serious enough for further investigation."

When news began to emerge about the problems with cervical testing at Kent and Canterbury, she says: "I was very worried. And I wasn't one of those who was recalled because as far as they concerned I was already in the system. But if the negative slides could be causing problems, then what about me, when I had already shown borderline problems?"

It wasn't until this year that she finally had treatment for her problem. She avoided having a hysterectomy but had a "loop" where cells are burned

away under local anaesthetic to remove the two tumours. "It's terrible - all you can smell is burning flesh."

She rang a support group, which suggested that she get in touch with Sarah Harman, a Kent solicitor and the sister of Harriet Harman, the Secretary of State for Social Security, who has been co-ordinating claims against the hospital. "More than anything I wanted a second opinion on what had happened to me. I was very, very worried."

"To me it's a moral thing - you have got to do something rather than talk about it. If you don't push then nothing will get changed. But there was no way I could have afforded to do it."

— Glenda Cooper



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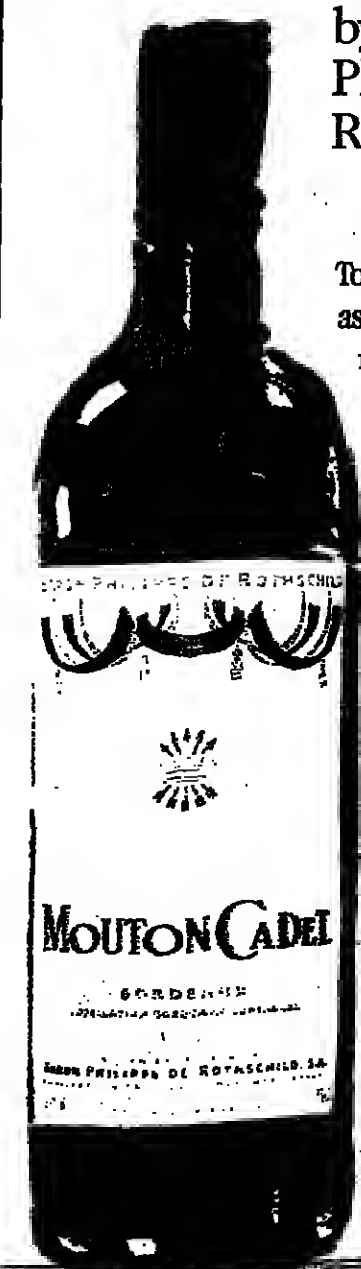
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Not so true blue in Tories' traditional heartland

The Winchester by-election campaign begins today, with polling on 20 November. The contest follows a successful court challenge by the former Tory minister Gerry Malone to a two-vote defeat in May by the Liberal Democrats. But, as Fran Abrams discovered, voters in this previously true-blue Tory heartland may not be ready to return to the fold just yet.



Divided it stands: Winchester is the sort of place the Tories could take for granted not so long ago. Photograph: Peter Macdarmid

"The sooner every party breaks up the better," remarked Mr Woodhouse in Jane Austen's *Emma*. In Winchester, where the author is buried, some of the voters would probably agree.

"At last!" begins a letter in the *Hampshire Chronicle*. The local populace simply want the sorry saga "over and done with," opines another.

At first glance, this does not look like a place in need of such excitement. In fact, if a US

leisure conglomerate were to manufacture a "build your own idyllic slice of historic Middle England" kit, it would probably be based on Winchester. There is a famous public school, Winchester College, a strong army

connection and simply acres of half-timbering. There are a couple of housing estates, but comfortingly the tourist maps are full of almshouses.

All this will not necessarily work for Gerry Malone: some

people feel that challenging the result just wasn't the sort of thing a gentleman would do. A retired officer type was recently heard to remark: "It isn't on, is it? When the umpire gives you out, that's it."

But there is more to Winchester than this. Scratch below the surface, locals say, and you will find a place far more switched on to politics than the traditional tea-shops and the gun-sellers might suggest.

The *Chronicle* is positively bristling with comment on the by-election (seven letters criticising Gerry Malone or the Tories and one accusing Mark Oaten (the Liberal Democrat MP) of excessive self-promotion, not that anything can be read into such a small sample) and practically everyone seems to have an opinion on what went wrong.

In a place so proud of its history, it would also be unwise to ignore a long tradition of failed attempts to regain their lost positions. Most recently, John Browne, the last Conservative MP, announced his retirement in 1990 then returned to fight and lose as an independent in the next two general elections.

But far more scandalous was the case of Sir Roger Tich-

borne, a local heir believed drowned off South America in 1954. Thirteen years later when a man turned up claiming to be Sir Roger and wanting the family seat back, most people reacted with disbelief.

Like Mr Malone, he took to the courts to prove his identity but to no avail. He was denounced as a perjurer and went to a pauper's grave 18 years later still proclaiming his rights.

Mr Malone need not be too downhearted, though. There are still an awful lot of natural Tories in Winchester and in its rural hinterland. Many of them may be fed up, but at heart they are still in the clan - after all, Mr Malone defended a 9,000 majority in May.

Mr Oaten has two advantages. One is that he can appeal to the disillusioned by not being a Tory, and the other is a high local profile. Mr Malone faced criticism on this count, a charge he responds to with a barrage of facts about numbers of surgeries and letters of gratitude from constituents.

The party is clearly not over yet. Protest as they may, the voters will suffer much disruption to their comfortable life in the next few weeks. And the outcome still looks too close to call.

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Brown still under fire on Emu

Treasury ministers were in purdah yesterday as they put the finishing touches to a parliamentary statement on the European single currency. The Chancellor's words will end weeks of confusion, but, Fran Abrams writes, they are unlikely to calm his critics.

Just after 3.30pm today, Gordon Brown will rise to his feet in a packed House of Commons. His statement, which is expected to confirm that Britain is unlikely to join a single currency before 2002, has been well trailed - some would say too well.

The reaction from some other quarters is likely to be almost as predictable. Even in the city, where there has been nervousness in the past few weeks over the issue, the announcement is unlikely to cause many shock waves.

Last night Tony Blair said the statement would be "clear, detailed and definitive."

"People must know where they stand. Our partners in Europe must know where they stand," he said during a visit with Commonwealth leaders to St Andrews, Scotland.

People would realise that "a few days of bad press is a small price to pay" for strength and stability. "The policy is right. It will be the right policy for Britain decided on the national interest, decided on economic grounds," the Prime Minister made clear.

But Opposition politicians queued up to knock down in advance the carefully-worded formula they expected the Chancellor to produce.

Tory Euro-sceptics, the Liberal Democrat leader and even some Labour MPs were eager to explain where Mr Brown was going to go wrong.

Norman Lamont, the former Chancellor, told Sky News that he expected the Mr Brown to announce "the people's U-turn."

"What he is going to do is to sound Eurosceptical in order to pave the way for joining later," he said. The Government would prepare the ground for joining by spending money from Europe on a campaign to win over public opinion.

John Redwood, Tory trade and industry spokesman, compared joining a single currency to opening a joint bank account with his neighbours. He did not even have a joint account with his wife, he said.

On BBC Radio 4's *The World this Weekend*, Paddy Ashdown accused both Labour and Tory governments of "vacillation, timidity and cowardice" in the face of pressure from the Murdoch press.

Both Labour and the Tories had their dissenters yesterday, though. The sceptical Labour MP, Austin Mitchell, warned that "radical pro-Europeans" such as Peter Mandelson might push Mr Brown to "put Europe before country, while the pro-European Tory MP Peter Temple-Morris, was said to be "considering his position" after the shadow Cabinet promised to campaign against the single currency at the next election.

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United: Cheers for a speech at the rally. Marchers said they came to say that they were proud to be black women, and were not to be cowed

Photographs: AP

America's black women march in name of history, pride ... and myth

A march and rally of black American women in Philadelphia this weekend defied all forecasts to attract a cast of stars and a crowd of hundreds of thousands.

But why did so many make the journey, what did they get out of it, and why is Winnie Mandela still such a heroine to black Americans?

Mary Dejevsky joined one of the 'Philly'-bound buses to find out.

It was well before daybreak in a benighted area of south-eastern Washington, and the tarmac, lit only by car and bus headlights, looked something like a sparse African marketplace transplanted into the dark and damp-cold of the North. Women in exotic headgear carrying bundles, coolers and children mingled excitedly with others clad in anoraks and jeans, and everyone called everyone else "sister" as they ran the gauntlet of (male) bus-tellers brandishing commemorative T-shirts and badges into the gloom.

With shouted greetings and much extravagant kissing, they were setting off for the "Million Woman March", after the Million Man March of two years and nine days before, that had brought hundreds of thousands of black men to Washington at the behest of the black Muslim leader, Louis Farrakhan.

The men had marched to "atone" for past sins, committed especially towards their womenfolk. The women who turned out this weekend had unity rather than atonement in mind. And Louis Farrakhan, a man whose influence among black Americans is still growing, had almost nothing to do with



Sisterhood: The Million Women March makes its way along Benjamin Franklin Parkway, Philadelphia

it. He had lent belated moral support, and his wife was one of a dozen or so speakers. But it was not his occasion.

This was a rally that prided itself on having started from the grassroots and being inclusive. Its two leading lights - Phile Chionese and Asia Concy - who are prominent in the Philadelphia black community but got further afield, had declined help from established civil rights campaigners. They had barely been able to raise the \$10,000 (£6,250) deposit required by the city of Philadelphia.

But the Million Woman March grew, as one black columnist put it, from a "whisper into a near-joke that gathered enough steam to sound like a heartfelt hallelujah". So that

even if it did not hit the 1.3 million participants boasted from the platform, or even the million of its title, it came much closer than anyone involved had dared hope.

The police, discreetly present on the sidelines, had clearly not anticipated such numbers: neither had the food vendors who were overwhelmed by queues and ran out of hotdogs.

The "affirmation of sisterhood in the city of brotherly love" - as one banner put it - had caught the mood of many black women. "I came to say that I'm a black woman and proud to be one," said a woman in her twenties in an elegant business suit. There were Baptists and fundamentalist Christians. Our bus was "blessed" by

Sister Cherry, dressed in blue denim from head to toe, who asked everyone to hold hands, chanted the 34th psalm, prayed for a safe journey and led the party in some sleepy renditions of gospel hymns.

The express purpose of the rally - to unite America's black women - might have been nebulous, but individually, everyone knew why she was there. It had very little to do with so-called community leaders, whether Farrakhan or anyone else, and a great deal to do with being black and wanting to say so loud and clear, and not to be cowed.

"I wanted to be part of it. And I wanted my daughter to come, it's her future - and my mother's here, too," were sentiments frequently heard. "It's time we stood up for ourselves, what we've done and what we can do."

The religiously-inclined spoke about a "blessed occasion"; the more secular-minded about self-reliance, entrepreneurship, not being put down - and history.

Behind the generality of uniting for a better future, however, the prevailing idea behind the rally was that of a nebulous African heritage - an all-embracing myth that a section of black America has constructed for itself out of an amalgam of Alex Haley's *Roots*, folk memories of slavery and nostalgia for southern rural living that contrasts with the urban reality of their daily lives and offers pride, power, identity and social cohesion.

This is a construct that can accommodate brands of Christian fundamentalism and Islam, private enterprise and calls for more state help, separate black schools and the preservation of ethnic quotas in education and jobs; more female assertiveness and keeping the family together - all subsumed in the vague idea of blackness and "Africa".

The idea preaches tolerance while accommodating controversy in acute and highly divisive forms. The rap singer Sister Souljah, who incurred President Bill Clinton's wrath last year for appearing to advocate racial violence in some of her lyrics, told girls, in coarse language that drew gasps, to stop thinking of themselves as sex objects and develop their brains.

Congresswomen Maxine Waters, from California, expounded on the theory - repeatedly denied but widely accepted among blacks - that the CIA started the crack cocaine epidemic in Los Angeles with the dual aim of raising money for covert military operations and undermining the black family.

It fell to Ms Waters to introduce Winnie Mandela - an icon for rally participants who were universally "surprised and flattered" by her presence - as the "mother of a nation and mother of us all" whose only remaining ambition was to have a monument built to "all the children who died in South Africa's revolution".

For those who wanted to hear, this was the only allusion, heavily veiled, to the accusations of child murder hanging over Winnie Mandela. In black America, her image has been frozen at the moment apartheid fell. She is Earth Mother and victorious black freedom fighter. There is no defence of any "revolutionary" morality to explain other aspects of her conduct. Such is the desire among black American women for a heroine that few know or believe anything else.

On Saturday evening, in the perishing cold and damp of Philadelphia, her primal scream of "Freedom" was reciprocated by a rapturous crowd. Shrewdly, however, she kept out of controversy, preferring to talk not of revolution, but of past suffering shared.

Squalid, disgusting, toxic. Is this the dirtiest city on the planet?

India was foaming at the mouth this month after the Queen was quoted as saying "Delhi is dirty". It was all a mistake, insisted the Foreign Office: all she had said was that Islamabad was very clean. But as Peter Popham reports, Delhi has good reason to be sensitive on the subject.

At the state banquet held in her honour two weeks ago here in Delhi, the Queen supposedly said to the Prime Minister, Inder Gujral, "Delhi is a dirty city". Seconding this view, Sir David Gore-Booth, the British High Commissioner, was reported to have chipped in, "You can even see people relieving themselves on the street."

Delhi was shocked. It is a mistake to underestimate the delicacy of local sensibilities here, and no sooner had word of the comments leaked out

than city politicians were falling over one another to condemn the royal intervention. Phrases like "colonial hangover" were thicker in the air than suspended particulates. "One hundred per cent lies!" stormed Sahib Singh Verma, the city's chief minister.

It wasn't entirely surprising when on 22 October the British Foreign Office issued a statement denying the Queen had called Delhi dirty. She had merely said Islamabad, the Pakistani capital, barely 35 years old, which she had visited the previous week, was "very clean".

It was left to Delhi's politicians and journalists to draw the unflattering inference. Visiting dignitaries aren't supposed to notice these things. In Delhi they are aided by the fact that they are mostly confined within New Delhi, largely unchanged since Lutens' day. It is still an area of wide boulevards, tree-lined avenues and great grassy spaces. The trees, planted 60 years ago, have mostly prospered, so that seen from the air it looks less

like a city than a forest with the odd building in it. Through the windows of an air-conditioned limousine it looks as if India has made a pretty good job of tending its British legacy.

Had the Queen strayed a few hundred yards from the official itinerary, however, she would have discovered that "dirty" is far too mild a word to describe the Indian capital. "Squalid", "disgusting", "toxic" - these are closer to the mark. Delhi is one of the filthiest cities on the planet.

How has this been allowed to happen? A visit to the Yamuna River, just downstream of the Mahatma Gandhi memorial where the Queen laid a wreath, explains a lot. The Yamuna is Delhi's only source of fresh water, but by the time it reaches the capital it is already badly contaminated by factory waste. Passing through the city, it receives an input of some 630 million litres of untreated sewage per day, so that except during the monsoon, the river's flow consists solely of industrial effluent and sewage. Yet in this river, on the banks of which the residents of the nearby slums line up to defecate each morning, laundries do their washing.

Stepping carefully inland, one soon discovers why nearly one third of Delhi's sewage is untreated: nearly 40 per cent of the city's 11 million people live in shanty slums like this one, plagued by flies and mosquitoes, lacking drains and running water, surrounded by their own accumulating rubbish and excrement. Half a million people migrate to the city every year, and many end up in vile places like this. Once such a slum gets a foothold on a river bank or a patch of parkland or behind some important organisation (the World Health Organisation's building has a choice specimen), it stays put: politicians guarantee its survival in return for votes.

Urban India's problems are the problems of poverty, exacerbated by corrupt and incompetent politicians. Fiddle your way through the slum and you arrive at the main road, where the reason for the haze that drapes the city during the dry winter months becomes plain: Delhi's traffic is dominated by heavily-polluting lorries and buses - the sulphur level of the diesel fuel they use is a hundred times that permitted in Europe - and two-stroke scooters and auto-rickshaws running on cheap, adulterated petrol which cough out 70 per cent of the city's hydrocarbons.

Delhi's rulers have been discussing building a mass rapid transport system for the capital for 15 years or more until Delhi-lites have become completely bored with the subject. Japanese foreign aid stands ready to pay two thirds of the cost, yet still nothing happens. In the meantime, the only city-wide mode of public transport are the dirty and dangerous buses. Inevitably, car use among the increasingly affluent middle class is exploding.

Amid the enshrouding murk, there are glimmers of awareness among the citizens. One community initiative shows how much can be done. Delhi produces 7,000 tonnes of rubbish per day, 40 per cent of which is not removed. But Professor Iqbal Malik, a social scientist, has started a scheme for the rational collection and disposal of the city's rubbish, organised in neighbourhoods and involving armies of rag pickers; one quarter of the city's population, she claims, is now signed up to it.

But there is less that responsible citizens can do about the *ganda mullah* (dirty drain) that the holy Yamuna has become, or the toxic air. With the population expected to top 20 million by 2010, any hope for Delhi's redemption would appear wildly unreasonable. So if Indian politicians want their distinguished guests to say nice things about the capital, they had better set about building a cute little new one. Something like Islamabad should do the trick.

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Greeks furious as UK woos Ankara

EU governments are struggling to prevent the 23-year-old conflict between Turkey and Cyprus from wrecking plans to expand the bloc, reports Katherine Butler in Mondorf-les-Bains, Luxembourg

Divisions over the status of Turkey are threatening to come to a head during the British EU presidency, following Britain's announcement at the weekend that it wants to invite Ankara to the opening by the Queen of a pan-European "enlargement conference" in London in February.

High-level EU talks with Ankara are to be launched urgently to avert a crisis triggered by Greek anger at the prospect of Turkey's inclusion to any enlargement structure, however symbolic. The latest row follows directly from the decision to put Cyprus on a shortlist of six applicants with whom membership talks will open in March.

EU foreign ministers meeting in Luxembourg at the weekend gave qualified backing to a selective enlargement strategy whereby five of the most de-

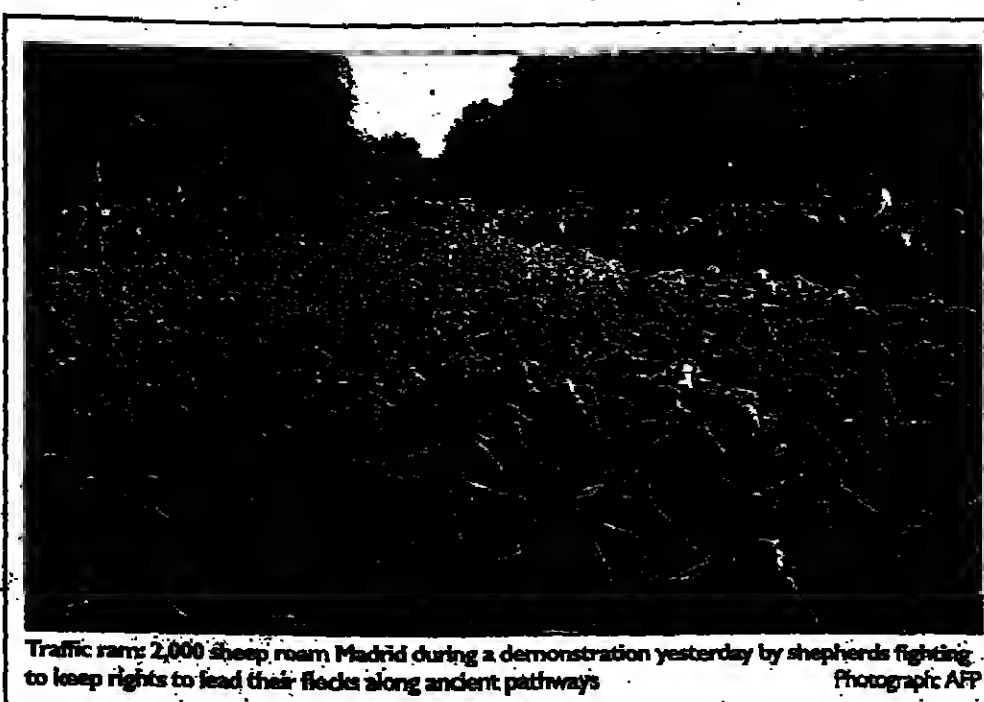
veloped former Soviet bloc countries (Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia and Slovenia), and also Cyprus, would be invited to become the first wave of new member states. But the approach has sharpened the dilemma over Turkey, which has been pressing for membership since 1963.

Ankara fears Cypriot admission to the EU will lessen its chances and is threatening to veto peace talks on the divided island if the EU opens negotiations with the Greek Cypriot authorities alone.

Britain's push to acknowledge Turkey's membership of "Europe's family" by granting Ankara a place in the standing conference designed to promote links with all EU hopefuls has exposed the divisions.

Greek minister Theodoros Pangalos raised the stakes at the Mondorf meeting by warning that Athens would veto Turkey's inclusion because of its belligerence on Cyprus and its record on human rights.

British Europe minister, Doug Henderson, said it was imperative to draw Ankara into the "European home". Greece, he said, had to accept the changes happening in Europe and must "modernise its relationship with Turkey".



Traffic jam: 2,000 sheep roam Madrid during a demonstration yesterday by shepherds fighting to keep rights to lead their flocks along ancient pathways. Photograph: AFP

Algeria's election results beggar belief

"The people have spoken," the dictatorial old FLN newspaper *Al-Moudjahid* told its faithful few readers yesterday. Alas, last week's local election results in Algeria suggest that the people's voice was distorted beyond recognition to produce a fraudulent victory for the two pro-government parties, the new Rassemblement National Democrat (RND) of President Liamine Zeroual and the corrupt and decidedly senile National Liberation Front (FLN). Computerised results showed

that an incredible - a truly unbelievable - 70 per cent of Algerians voted for these parties.

"It is not logical and it is not possible," said Saadi, leader of the secular Rassemblement Pour la Culture et la Democratie (RCD), announced at the weekend; and not without reason. Street protests by RCD supporters were suppressed by the police on Friday; a call for thousands to join further demonstrations in the centre of Algiers today - "we shall turn Algiers into Belgrade," an RCD

official promised - is likely to meet the same fate.

Opposition parties have demanded the cancellation of last week's results - an idea that will not commend itself to the generals who control the government. Electoral fraud was not only widespread but provable. In the Mouradia suburb of Algiers, for example, Zeroual's party will hold seven of the 11 local council seats, even though the RCD woo 1,674 votes against the president's 1,262.

— Robert Fisk, Algiers

Libyan 'attack' on Italy was US scare tactic

Most Italians can remember the frisson of panic they felt when, after the US bombing raids on Libya 11 years ago, two retaliatory missiles were reported to have landed off the island of Lampedusa, near Sicily. For a few hours the Mediterranean appeared to be on the brink of war. But were there really any Libyan missiles, or was it all American disinformation? Andrew Gumbel reports on a new mystery.

gatori, talked to Mr Sanguedolce again this week, only to be told that the island's fishing boats were all in harbour that day because of rough seas. "I was on a bus and heard only the two bangs," the fisherman told him. "Nobody here saw anything, and if they tell you any different they are lying."

After interviewing islanders, politicians, intelligence officers and military officers, Mr Purgatori has concluded the episode was a masterful piece of US disinformation. It was the American officers on Lampedusa who alone were the source of the missile story. Supposedly, satellite photographs were taken of the missiles taking off from Libya, but the defence chief of staff at the time says he never saw them.

There were no witnesses to the attack, apart from Mr Sanguedolce, and when the Italian navy went out to track the sea fragments, they found nothing that resembled a Scud missile. The metal pieces now on display in the hotel were recovered by fishermen and have never been officially identified as part of a weapon.

What would cause the Americans to make up such a story? At the time, Italy enjoyed close ties to the Gaddafi regime and had reacted coolly to the US bombing raids on Tripoli and Benghazi. According to Mr Purgatori's sources, the Americans may have wanted to scare the Italians into moderating their pro-Libyan diplomacy.

And what about those bangs? These could have simply been sonic booms produced by US fighters overflying the area; indeed, the mayor of Lampedusa, Alessandro Frangipane, had been told not to be alarmed if he heard such noises.

What the islanders of Lampedusa remember from the afternoon of 15 April 1986, was a sudden double bang. In the frenzy of the moment, it was reported that two Scud missiles had been fired from Libyan soil and landed just a few hundred yards short of a US military radio installation stationed on the island.

A local fisherman, Oreste Sanguedolce, told several news reporters at the time how he had heard "an infernal crash" while out fishing and saw an enormous column of water. Some small fragments of what were supposed to be the Scuds were later recovered and put on display in the Hotel Lido Azzurro as a souvenir.

But something about the story did not ring true, and now the Milan newspaper *Corriere della Sera* has come up with compelling evidence that the missiles never existed. *Corriere's* investigative reporter, Andrea Pur-

Kenya battles to repair flood damage

People on Kenya's Indian Ocean coast yesterday enjoyed their first respite from a week of torrential rains during which falls of more than 500mm (20 inches) caused damage estimated at millions of dollars.

A return of sunny weather enabled road maintenance gangs to restore some of the communication links which had been cut by broken bridges and washed-away roads and railway lines around Mombasa.

Twenty-five people died in the floods. The main water supply pipe to Mombasa was cut when an earth embankment was washed away and thousands of houses over a wide area were either destroyed or damaged.

The floods and landslides affected an area which had already been hit by a wave of violence directed against Kenyans originally from inland areas. Thousands of people fled from their homes after a series of attacks by armed gangs which began in August, leaving more than 60 dead.

"It has been a truly *annus horribilis* for Kenya's coast region," the *Sunday Nation* commented in an editorial.

Meteorologists said the rains were a result of El Nino climatic warming, and warned that more heavy rains could be expected in the coming weeks.

— Reuters

Italians take to high life without border controls

Italy yesterday lifted all border restrictions on airline passengers travelling to and from France, Germany, Spain, Portugal and the Benelux countries. Travellers for these destinations were shepherded through domestic rather than international terminals and made to stop only for security and a celebratory drink while their passports remained firmly in their pockets.

The countries in question are all signatories of the Schengen Accord, whereby they have agreed to abolish internal borders by next March in exchange for tightening immigration controls from other countries. Yesterday's unilateral gesture was largely crowd-pleasing propaganda since Italy has yet to fulfil the conditions enabling it to become a full member of the club.

— Andrew Gumbel, Rome
Leading article, page 14

Colombia poll threats

Colombians braved the threat of bombs and bullets to vote in local polls yesterday as Marxist rebels pressed ahead with their bloody campaign of election sabotage. The authorities predicted abstention levels as high as 70 per cent, especially outside cities where the guerrillas paralysed most roads, warned voters to stay at home and declared election officials to be military targets.

In Argentina, President Carlos Menem's Peronist Party, credited with reversing economic decline, faced losing its congressional majority in mid-term elections. Polls indicate that a new centre-left coalition, the Alianza, stands to benefit from desire for progress on social issues.

— Reuters, Bogota

Chechens fight tapeworms

The government of Chechnya believes it is winning the battle against a tapeworm outbreak. Itar-Tass news agency said yesterday. Tass quoted the Chechen Deputy Prime Minister, Islam Khalimov, as saying special medical units were still working in the worst-hit regions but the problem was being brought under control. Agencies had quoted him as saying the parasites could have been caused by the rotting corpses of Russian soldiers killed in a war for independence which ended last year.

— Reuters, Moscow

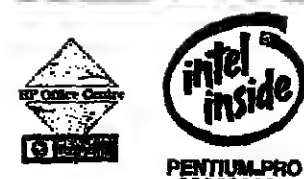
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It's what you want to know

Russia's intellectuals come out of the big sleep

Isaiah Berlin once described the intelligentsia as arguably Russia's greatest contribution to world civilization. No more.

Demoralised by broken dreams and the economic struggle to survive, the intellectuals have gone into hibernation.

Now, as Phil Reeves reports, a move is afoot to shake them awake.

Nearly 70 years ago, during Stalin's first Five Year Plan, a handful of his toadies organised a production of *Hamlet*. Far from being an abused (if flawed) tragic hero, the Danish prince was played as a fat ditherer. The "to be or not to be" soliloquy was delivered half drunk in a bar. The aim was to satirise Russia's pre-revolutionary intelligentsia.

One particularly sycophantic critic proclaimed the play's true hero to be Fortinbras, the patriotic commander left in charge at the final curtain. It was, of course, utterly obscene, given the slaughter and imprisonment that Stalin inflicted on the intellectuals who dared to question his regime.

Yet today, it is closer to the mark. Russia's intelligentsia has withdrawn from the public stage, and is brooding in the wings, dithering and fretting over its role and destiny.

Such is the hush that has now fallen that moves are under way in Moscow to organise the largest gathering of the intelligentsia since the end of *perestroika* — a congress of nearly 1,000 people to be held in December.

It will "help define the national idea, to set up a constant dialogue between authority and society", said its chairman, Sergei Filatov, a former head of Boris Yeltsin's administration.

How different it all was just a decade ago. The intelligentsia — a word first coined in tsarist Russia — was the driving force behind *perestroika*, a seething font of hugely diverse opinion, united in the belief that the repressive state must be reformed. They shaped the entire world's perception of Soviet politics, conversing with Western journalists for hours around the kitchen table, the traditional forum for dissenting discussion.

The era became a landmark in the return of a sizable educated class to the heart of Russian life after Stalinism. In 1959, only 36 per cent of the population aged 10 and over had secondary education; by 1986, that figure had swelled to 70 per cent.

Khrushchev and Brezhnev — though scarcely standard bearers for freedom — oversaw the evolution of a section of the population with western levels of education. By the mid-1980s,

there were some 500,000 people with doctorates or post-doctorates, and a further 200,000 working in journalism, the arts and academia.

True, almost all depended on the grace and favours of the state, a condition which infused their relationship with the Soviet system with ambiguity. But some, at least, had the guts to resist.

It was the intelligentsia that forced the publication of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's anti-Stalinist classic, the *Gulag Archipelago*. And it was the intelligentsia that set the stage for the extraordinary televised First Congress of People's Deputies in 1989, in which the Soviet Union watched in astonishment as one voice after another was raised against the system.

To the fore was the heroic dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov, calling for the revoking of Article Six in the Soviet constitution, the clause which proclaimed the Communist Party as the "leading and guiding force of Soviet society". That idealism and energy has now disappeared.

Few Russians in Boris Yeltsin's Russia pay any heed to Alexander Solzhenitsyn's gloomy warnings of cultural decline (his announcement last week that he is to award an annual Russian literary prize inspired little interest here). The "thick journals" are no longer required reading; kitchen table debates are less about political theory than crime.

"We are in a period of political tiredness," said Yegor Yakovlev, who edited the admired *Moscow News* during *perestroika*. "We have also lost prestigious people with authority; Sakharov's place is vacant."

Evidence of that was glaringly apparent during the Chechen war. Although one human rights activist, Sergei Kovalev, heroically opposed the slaughter, the liberal intelligentsia failed as the nation's moral conscience. It has been grappling with its shame and disillusionment ever since.

Those who did speak out discovered that they made no impact on the Yeltsin administration. "There was a deep conviction that as soon as we wrote about the atrocities, they would stop, but they didn't," recalls Masha Gessen, author of a book on the intelligentsia called *Dead Again*. "Absolutely nothing happened."

Since the end of the war last year, the situation has palpably worsened. The mass media have increasingly been bought up by banks and big business close to the government, with a strong interest in preserving the *status quo*.

"The media is in a post-liberal phase in which they are owned by people who are not interested in what the intelligentsia has to say. It is sick of them," said Ms Gessen.

Moreover, the intelligentsia — always a very loose term — has fragmented. Opportunists who

posed as liberals during *perestroika* drifted away to more conservative waters, matching a similar swing in the national mood.

Others have gone into hibernation, and others are simply engaged in the struggle to survive.

Examples abound of formerly state-supported artists, writers, doctors, scientists and academics trying to exist on pittance salaries, or driving taxis.

And, although Russia is neither democratic nor entirely free, the absence of crude re-

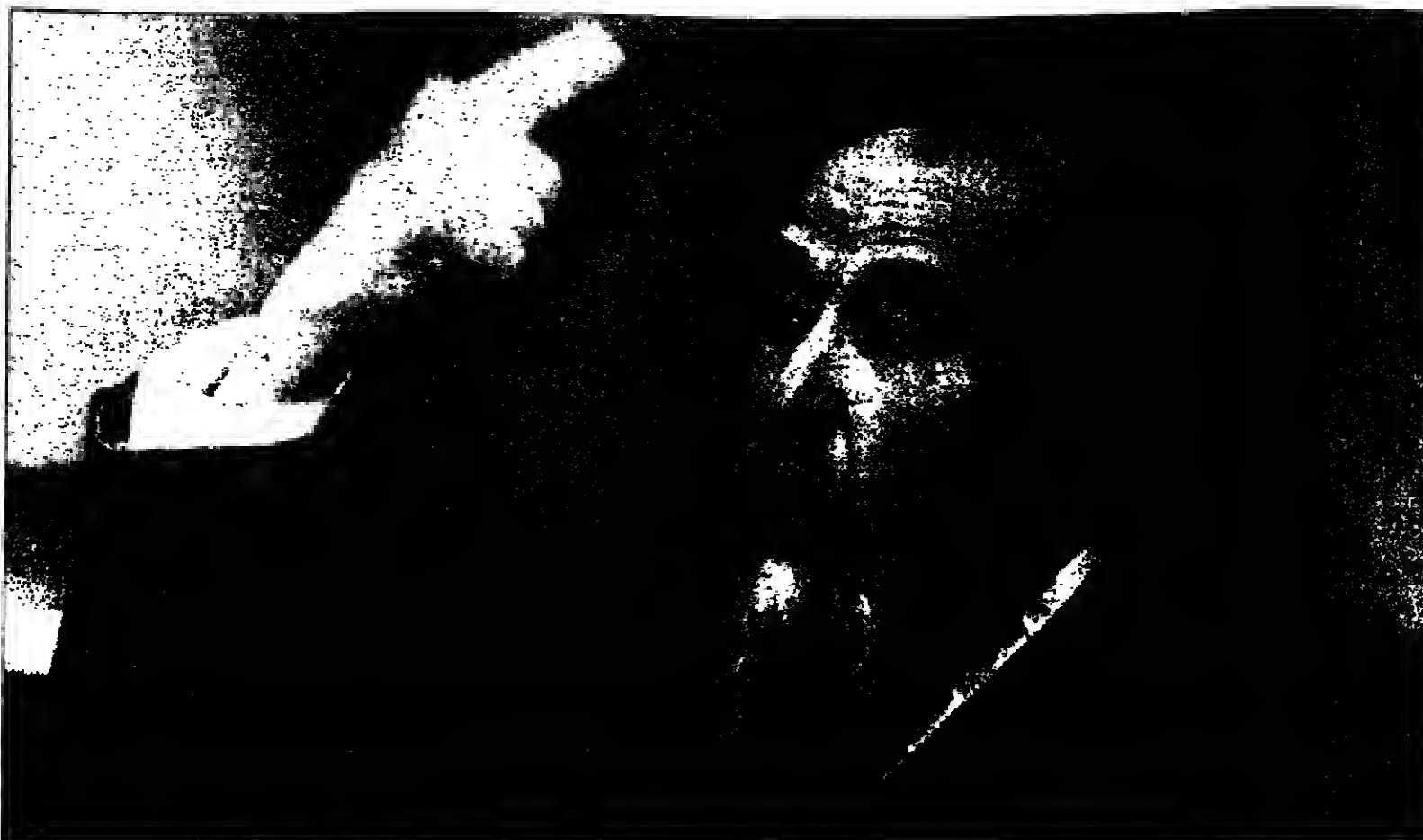
pression coupled with Boris Yeltsin's liberal rhetoric have deprived the intelligentsia of a clear-cut cause. The President — long derided by the intelligentsia as a roughneck construction worker — has stolen some of their territory.

Sergei Filatov, chair of the Congress, hopes to restore the intelligentsia voice. The idea — put forward by a group of writers, journalists and scientists — is to bring together intellectuals from across the spectrum, from Slavophile nationalists to

westernisers, to form an intellectual movement which will constantly monitor Russia's government. He wants a "broad discussion" that will help the Yeltsin government "make fewer mistakes".

Whether this will galvanise

Russia's intelligentsia into life remains to be seen, but scepticism is already emerging. Mr Yakovlev has pronounced himself "deeply indifferent" to the idea. And Boris Yeltsin's record as a listener is patchy, to say the least.



Mind games: Alexander Solzhenitsyn, left, no longer holds sway over Russia's liberal elite but the search to find a new hero to pick up Andrei Sakharov's mantle goes on. In December, the country's intelligentsia will meet at a conference organised by Sergei Filatov, above

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British Gas

Jeans that just walk out of the shop

After decades of dominance in the jeans industry, Levi's is being challenged as the must-have label by G-Star. Cut, quality, fit, good value and a revived look called 'selvage' are behind the young contender's success, writes Damian Foxe.

When Bob Haas, the head of Levi's and one of the last remaining members of the original Levi family, visited American Classics in the King's Road recently, he must have realised that all was not well on the designer denim front. As usual, a maddening crowd of Japanese enthusiasts were clamouring about the shelves, eager to wrestle the latest wares from the unsuspecting hands of Britain's rapidly spiralling number of denim devotees but, unfortunately for Haas at least, the hippest, most happening and fastest selling denim label was no longer hanging on the Levi's rail.

The culprit is G-Star, denim's star of the moment and one of the fastest moving lifestyle labels in London. "It's amazing," admits American Classics' owner Cavan Cooper, who has navigated the world's rapidly shifting cult denim market for more than 30 years. "G-Star was started only six years ago and already it looks set to blow every other competitor, including Levi's, out of the water."

"We started stocking them less than a year ago," explains Adam Cooper, manager of the Covent Garden branch, "and already they are our number-one-selling label, particularly amongst those who want cult denim styles."

Based on 40s and 50s vintage denim patterns, the Amsterdam-based G-Star label comprises 22 different styles in 18 different washes, with prices ranging from £47.50 for the classic five-pocket style (think traditional 501s) to £89.50 for their exclusive Japanese "selvage" denim option (Levi's charges a whopping £180 for its nearest equivalent).

To the uninitiated, selvage is the technical term for the side-edge of a piece of fabric. Originally, all denim was woven on 29-inch looms. To save material, the jeans were cut right to the edge of the fabric resulting in the selvage, which was marked by a different coloured thread, appearing along the outside seam of every pair of jeans.

In 1983, Cone Mills, main supplier of denim to Levi's, changed its denim production from 29-inch looms to 61-inch looms, causing the discontinued use and ultimate disappearance of the selvage in denim. Other jeans manufacturers followed

done. And you can tell by the way they're made that the people who design them know what they are talking about and have a real interest in authenticity and the garment's original heritage.

"They're making the kind of jeans that Levi's should be making," adds Mark, Simon's brother, "and what's more they're selling them at exactly the right price."

So who exactly is buying G-Star? Everyone, apparently, as far as the Essex mum looking for fashion's current favourite, indigo jeans, for her little G-Star's next birthday. G-Star's appeal is global. People like the idea of buying cult denim like Evisu, or rare denim like Levi's original selvage, but in reality they mostly buy G-Star because the quality is amazing, the fit is spot on and they're brilliant value for money.

"We don't even have to try selling them," laughs Simon, "because they leap out at the customer." And the best selling style? "It changes every time they bring out a new cut," admits Adams. "Elwood, their Moto-cross style, completely sold out in less than three days."

Admittedly this is no ordinary denim war, because devoted denim enthusiasts are looking for extraordinary denim. "Our customer really knows his stuff," continues Cavan. "For him selvage denim has never gone out of fashion, so he is judging G-Star with a very sceptical eye."

With exclusivity as the watchword for successful designer denim, G-Star have struck a near-perfect balance between the mass appeal of ubiquitous brands like Levi's, Lois and Falmer and the prohibitively high pricing strategies of cult brand Evisu, who charge up to £250 for a pair of their Japanese selvage jeans.

"Although our distribution has jumped from only six British stockists to 27 in a single season," explains Terry Bates, manager of G-Star UK, "we are determined to keep the brand very exclusive, with fewer than six stockists planned for the whole of London."

"Growth will be organic within those stores that show a real understanding of the G-Star brand and a commitment to its continued success," explains Terry. "In other European countries our stockists dedicate 40 per cent of their floor space to G-Star's 200-piece denim-related collection. In return, we give them exclusivity and a brand which becomes their number one bestseller almost overnight." Indeed, three of its four London stockists have named G-Star as their biggest seller so far in 1997.

But can G-Star really oust Levi's, who have remained the best selling jeans label since they first established in 1860? Probably not, but in the name of greater choice at lower prices, let's hope they have a cracking good try.

Damian Foxe is the fashion writer for 'Time Out'.
G-Star Raw Denim stockist inquiry number: 0181-673 2646.
American Classics, 20 Endell Street, London WC2 (0171-831 1210)



Jean genius: in only six years, G-Star has become one of the fastest moving lifestyle labels in London. Above, brothers Mark and Simon Horrocks are shop assistants at American Classics in Covent Garden and fans of G-Star denim. Above left, the G-Star ad. Photograph: Rui Xavier

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Beauty Quest is a mail-order hair and make-up catalogue compiled by top stylists. For insider knowledge, we can tolerate a little bit of self-promotion, writes Holly Davies.

Beauty Quest is a unique mail-order service. Not only does the catalogue offer a comprehensive selection of leading-brand hair and beauty products, but the editorial team comprises the best hair-stylists and make-up artists in the country.

In the catalogue, which features products for men and women, hairstylists Oribe, Eugene Souleiman and Johnnie Spong recommend their favourite coloured hair slicks, diamante tiaras, snag-free elastics, and jewelled hair clips.

On the make-up front, Ruby Hammer recommends

her own products, a range of make-up brushes which start from £2 for a mascara wand to £16.50 for a powder brush. The cosmetics have been sourced globally and include the swear-by-it Great Lash Mascara by Maybelline. It costs £5.95, and is carried by every supermodel worth her Burt's beeswax lipbalm, which is available for £3. Sweet Georgia Brown cosmetics are also featured.

For men there is a range of skin care from Nickel which includes Aftershave calming gel, £25, and moisturiser, £26.

There are 30 pages packed with Aveda, Tweezerman,

L'Occitane, Aroma Therapies and more, all available to view in the comfort of your own armchair. It's actually a really good way of sending someone who lives miles away a little gift. It could sort out loads of awkward Christmas presents (only nine weeks to go) like your Auntie in Aberdeen - never brushes her hair - or your penpal in Nova Scotia who has a fetish for nail varnish.

Well, maybe not, but you could always treat yourself.

Beauty Quest has a new winter issue out now. To order a copy, call 0541 505000.



Chic shoppers stay at home: why put your looks at the mercy of the elements when the best beauty materials can be delivered to your door?

Mothering and



DINAH HALL

Will the real Nicola Horlick please stand up

When she fell to earth from her high-flying City job, the media declared open season, and oh how we gloated. Oh how horrid, said Nicola. But not horrid enough to stop her writing a book about it all. Has she lost the plot - or is there another side to her story?

At one point, Nicola Horlick and I have to cross a busy road. She is wearing a gorgeous, rusty-gold, Paul Costelloe suit teamed with smart, Joan & David brown leather pumps. I am wearing any old rubbish plus, as she kindly points out later, a line of ink going up my neck from where I must have leant on my biro. Yet I find myself putting a hand on the small of her back and guiding her across the road, as if she were some helpless child, and it was me who did big things in the City and wore the suits and had a spouky, Nurmman helmet hair-do.

This is stupid, I know. Nicola will not get squashed if I don't help her.

Nicola is immensely capable. Nicola is "Superwoman". Nicola storms offices in London and Frankfurt when she loses million-pound jobs. Nicola has five children. Nicola has a big

white sofa without a single chocolate fingerprint on it. Nicola goes home at lunchtime to breastfeed the new baby. Nicola copes with a daughter with leukaemia. Nicola knits. Nicola embroiders. Nicola can't ever "just watch telly". Nicola bakes her own Christmas cake. The secret of a moist one? "Two grated apples," she advises in her book, *Can You Have It All?* Nicola "juggles" without ever seeming to drop any of the balls.

So yes, it's easy to feel hostile. Jealous, even. I say to my own partner the night before I meet her: "I can't believe she is 36, my age exactly, but has a house in Kensington and a country retreat in Hampshire and a Mercedes and gives dinner parties and has a devoted, also stupendously rich, high-flying City husband and makes all her children's birthday cakes and earns a trillion pounds and has a brilliant nanny whose been with her forever and..."

"Which part of it do you covet?" "All of it, you sad, low-flying loser!" "You made a birthday cake once."

"Yes, but when our son saw it he burst into tears and said he'd wanted a Power Ranger one from Tesco."

So, I am thinking this is going to be grim. I am thinking at least she isn't thin, which would be too much. I am wondering if I should tell her the secret of my moist Christmas cake. (Get down to M&S before they sell out, duckie.) I feel very happy when she tells me her sister-in-law recently split a cup of tea all over that sofa. "What a shame," I lie ecstatically.

But then I go and ruin it all by helping her across the road. I am still asking myself now, why did I do it? Because I felt she needed protecting in some way? Because I felt that when it came to the real-world rushing past she just wasn't up to it? Had I - dare I say it? - actually warmed to her? Possibly, yes. And I don't think I was being taken in. I think if Nicola had been the sort of woman who could take people in she'd have handled everything a lot better.

When she was suspended last January from her job as head of Deutsche Morgan Grenfell's £18bn pension fund business on suspicion of planning to defect to a rival company along with most of her team, she fought to be reinstated by storming their offices in London and then Frankfurt with an obstructive media in tow. "If you lay one finger on me," she shrieked at the security guards, "I'll call the police." This did not look good. This looked like a premeditated publicity stunt. This looked hysterical. Plus, were we meant to feel sorry for her? Oh, poor Nicola. How will you now afford

the daily who rinses out your tights? No, we did not feel sorry for her. Superwoman had crashed to earth, and how we loved it. It was come-uppance at its glorious best.

Certainly, it looked as if she had manipulated everything. But did she? She says not. The TV crews and reporters just turned up - besieged her house, in fact - which she initially found rather shocking. "I didn't know why it was a story, much less how they knew my address." She took them all with her when she confronted her bosses because, she says, she was so incensed, so angry at not being given a chance to have her say, that it was done before she even stopped to think about it. Now, I'm not saying Nicola is naïve. No one puts you in charge of billions of pounds if you are naïve. But sometimes she doesn't do the right thing, and even does the wrong thing very clumsily. Even though she looks like a big, hard doll with a lipstick gash of a mouth, she may be human after all. And even impulsive sometimes.

But mostly, Nicola likes certainty. Nicola likes to plan. Her first ambition was to become an actress. She even auditioned for Rada at 17. But she quickly gave up on that idea because she knew she wanted to marry and have children, and being an actress would involve long periods away from home, "which would not be suitable". Nicola does not often get carried

away. She first met Tim Horlick, her husband, at Oxford, but refused to live with him until they were married. She may even have refused to have sex with him until they were married - "although I'm not answering that!" She is quite moral, and what DMG did to her was hugely immoral, she reckons. "I felt as if they'd put me in a cell and thrown away the key." Yes, she surprised herself with her behaviour. Very much so. No, probably it wasn't wise. "But I deserved to be heard," she repeats fiercely.

Anyway, after that it was open season. This still perplexes her. "Why was everyone so horrid?" she asks, blinking blankly. "Why were women, in particular, so horrid?" she continues. "Do you think I've done anything wrong? Do you think I'm unfeeling?" She can't see that there are some who don't have it all, and can't forgive her for seeming to do so. Imagine you're in this old banger, I say, going down the motorway. Imagine, now, that the soft-topped Mercedes which has just overtaken you is being pulled in for speeding. Wouldn't that be satisfying? "Why?" she cries. So, yes, she can be quite hopeless at times, and may need protecting from herself as much as anybody.

Anyway, why write a book, and stir it all up again? Certainly, she doesn't need the money. Nicola now works for the French bank, Société Générale, setting up a fund management business for them from scratch in the UK. Nicola has landed firmly on her bank account, so to speak. Yes, the proceeds from the book will all be going to Great Ormond Street Hospital, where her oldest child, Georgie, has been treated over the years for leukaemia. But Nicola could have just made a donation, couldn't she? She's not short of a bob or two, after all. "I do that anyway," she says. Mostly, she did the book because she agreed to do it quite a while back, when she wasn't sure about going back into the City. Having signed and promised to deliver, deliver she would. Anything else would have been very un-Nicola.

There's a launch party for the book held at Great Ormond Street. There I meet Tim. What does he make of it all? Nicola's grandmother, Christina, an 82-year-old Polish Jew in a smart red frock finally introduces me to him. "Ziz iz Tim," she says. "He has gorgeous legs." Gorgeous legs? "I see him in summer in the shorts." "Oh, Granny..." sighs Tim. Tim is tall and dark and bespectacled and head of corporate investment at Salomon Brothers. Yes, he would have very nice legs as far as I can tell.

"Thanks," he says. Now Tim, I contin-

ue, what did you make of all the coverage Nicola got? "I only read the *Financial Times*, so I managed to ignore most of it," he replies. Can Nicola ever do nothing, ever just laze about reading *Hello!*, for instance?

"No. Never!" Were you surprised when she stormed Frankfurt? "Very. I told her afterwards I didn't think she'd achieved anything, but I could understand why she did it." Do you ever go to Tesco? "No, because when I do Nicola complains I haven't bought the right things. This is fine with me. I don't want to go to Tesco." Did you and Nicola have sex before you were married? "What do you think?" I think not. He does not contradict me, just moves on to talk to someone else. "There's my uncle - must say hello..."

Nicola was born in Nottingham, but moved to the Wirral when her father, Michael, who died earlier this year, joined the family chemical manufacturing business. Nicola's mother, Susannah, the daughter of Polish refugees, never worked, even though she was highly intelligent and had an architecture degree. "My mother never worked because my father didn't want her to. He was of the generation that believed a woman should stay at home if the man could support her." Yes, she does think her mother was bored and frustrated for a lot of the time. "She had me when she was 21, then I was at boarding school from 12. So at 33 she was at home by herself all day

every day. She wrote to me every single day. The other girls would tease me, because I got so many letters from her. But with such an active mind, she had to have something to do." Perhaps that's why Nicola learnt that not having enough to do may be a bad thing.

After Cheltenham Ladies' College, Nicola went to Oxford to study law. Here, she did all the usual undergraduate things, like drinking too much and sleeping around and hoping she wasn't up the duff. No, only joking. Instead she was directing plays, starting lunch clubs and running broadcasting services while simultaneously overseeing a business selling gas fires. After graduating, she worked for her father for a year before being taken on as a trainee at Warburg. She has never been "blindly ambitious" she says. She went from one good boss to another, each of whom gave her rapid advancement. Yes, she is good at maths and numbers and finance and all that - "I deliberately didn't take maths at A-level, because I knew it would be too easy for me" - but is equally good at building up loyal teams of staff. She was always much too valuable to lose. She never had a problem getting time off to be with Georgie.

Georgie - who has just turned 11 - was diagnosed as having leukaemia at two. She had chemotherapy and radiotherapy then, plus a further course a couple of years ago when she relapsed. Much was made of the

fact that on a morning after Georgie had hovered on the brink of death, Nicola went into Morgan Grenfell to make a presentation worth £750m to the company. She remains unapologetic about this. "If I hadn't have gone in to work, then I'd have gone shopping in Oxford Street. Sometimes you just have to get out the hospital for your own sanity."

I can understand this. It's not as if, say, Georgie had suddenly gone down with meningitis. Her life had been under threat for years. During this time, would it have been helpful if Nicola had given up everything else, and had just sat by her bedside? Georgie was never left alone as Nicola has a large and devoted extended family, all of whom rally round. "Someone was with that child constantly," says one of the staff nurses at the book launch.

Yes, Nicola does sometimes fall apart: "I'll be going along the motorway when I'll suddenly start crying and crying. It's like this continual grieving for something that has yet to happen." There are the other children to think of, too. Alice, the second born, is particularly close to Georgie. "She gets very distressed when Georgie has to go into hospital. She fears she might never see her again. I have to hug her and reassure her and kiss her and then, while she is still sobbing, I have to leave her to be with Georgie..."

Nicola did not set out wanting five chil-

dren, and would probably not have had five had it not been for Georgie's illness. Although currently in the clear, Georgie may ultimately have to have a bone marrow transplant. Nicola is not a match for Georgie, neither is Tim nor Alice nor any of the further three children, Serena, Rupert and Antonia, now one and a bit. As a matter of policy, hospitals do not tell parents if they have a matching donor on their database in case, when it comes to it, there isn't. After Nicola had Antonia she went to see Georgie's consultant and said to him: "Unless you can tell me there is a donor, I will go on to have a sixth child and a seventh..." She now knows there are two potential donors out there.

Yes, Nicola does have some irritating qualities. Yes, she can be self-righteous. Yes, she can only do what she does because she can afford it. No, she doesn't have a sharp sense of humour. No, she doesn't watch *Friends*. But is it her fault she can make brilliant birthday cakes? Has she perhaps become a kind of victim - the focus for every working mother's displaced feelings of guilt and inadequacy?

Has she never felt guts of doubt? "There have been many, many times when I have thought I must give this all up." But you haven't. "No. Because I don't see how it would help. I need to get on and do things. It is my way of coping."



Nicola Horlick: 'I deserved to be heard ... do you think I've done anything wrong? Do you think I've been unfeeling?'

Photograph: Glynn Griffiths

Mothering angst, shattered illusions and the beginnings of megalomania



DINAH HALL

I do hope that my enthusiasm for the staff selection part of my school governor role doesn't mean I have a Mandelstonian power streak inside me struggling to get out. But there certainly is something very enjoyable about not being the one with a nervous rash creeping up one's neck. Fortunately job interviews nowadays, in the public sector at least, are scrupulously fair, with each candidate asked exactly the same questions. And of course one has to be completely unbiased - something which was put to the test this week when the best candidate for the Year

Six job let slip that her husband worked for *The News of the World*. I am pleased to say that she got the job notwithstanding - of course, we'll have to give up our three-in-a-bed romps at governors' meetings and put the witchcraft seminar on hold, but it's a small price to pay for a good teacher.

It's been a bad week for sex symbols. Personally I've always been immune to Clint Eastwood's wrinkly charms so the news from his ex-lover Sondra Locke that his real-life foreplay starts with the line "Sweetie, did

you floss?" did not upset me unduly. In fact, it was probably just a polite American way of asking if Sondra (sweetie, did you check the spelling of your name?) had cleaned her teeth, to which the obvious answer is: "Yes, honey, and did you clip your nose hairs?" It lacks a certain passion, admittedly but at least it's hygienic, which is more than can be said for Gordon Brown - I was devastated by Brown Monday. I can cope with that silly business with the emu (politicians all have their peccadilloes, it seems, and at least he has been absolutely upfront about

it) but the revelation that he bites his nails has severely tried my loyalty. Ugh!

I'm sorry, I've tried to be New Womanish about this, but chewed fingers just don't seem very manly to me. The women you really have to feel sorry for, though, are the Tory groupies. I imagine - and it takes a big leap, I can tell you - that the appeal of a Conservative MP lies in his buttoned-up, pinstriped, clean-shaven rigour. To see them bonding with each other in Bhs jumpers and singing protest songs must have been even more upsetting for the

Thry faithful than it was for the rest of us.

I suppose I should be grateful that my parent/teacher consultations are so uneventful. The worst that ever happened to me was to be shown my daughter's essay on the subject of "An Unexpected Thing", for which she had written about the time I played with her. How humiliating, though, to be called in to see your child's teacher, as one of my book club members was, only to be told that your little darling was "humping" other children. "Well, it's only

natural isn't it, in a five-year-old?" laughed the mother of the little fiend as she told us. We hesitated for just that fraction of a second too long before answering. You like to be able to support other mothers in their insecurities but in this case, as she went on to elaborate his carnal relationship with the sofa, it began to seem like boasting. You know the sort of thing mothers excel at: "Oh, I'm so worried about George - it can't be normal for a six-year-old to spend all his time reading Dickens..." So now of course I'm deeply worried about my children's low libido,

KEEP WORK SLIGHT

Borders are not only for those with closed minds



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We are going to Paris for the day on the Eurostar and we have got everything we need: Metro map, restaurant guide, some money to change at the station, credit card. What about passports? Do you need a passport to go to France? Well, yes, you do. For many younger, educated, cosmopolitan *Independent* readers this comes as something of a surprise. It is a kind of historical curiosity, a bit like knightships or the words of the national anthem.

As Italians yesterday celebrated the abolition of customs and passport checks on air travellers from seven of their European Union partners, it is time to ask again some of the hard questions of our national psychology of frontiers. For there is no doubt that the British are different. Despite a growing European-minded minority for whom border controls are a pointless bureaucratic hassle, it is impossible to imagine the mass of Britons hanging out the union-jack-and-European-flag bunting for street parties to cheer the lifting

of our border controls with the EU.

Part of the difference is the Little Island mentality. Our borders are seas and so it seems better to reinforce our natural frontiers rather than rely on the policing of Greek land borders 1,000 miles away. But it is an attitude of mind which is geographically flawed. The United Kingdom covers one-and-a-bit islands, and people are allowed to pass between the UK and the Republic of Ireland without passports, despite a history of terrorism which, along with drug smuggling and illegal immigration, is one of the essential rationales for border controls.

Besides, our main island is now connected to the mainland of Europe through the Channel Tunnel, which makes us – topologically speaking – an isthmus. As an isthmus people, perhaps our national psyche will change over time.

But there can be no doubt that British public opinion as a whole will not be ready for many years to go along with the “free

movement of goods and people” within the EU to which we are in theory already committed. Nor is Britain alone in its reluctance, which is why the abolition of internal border controls has proceeded outside the formal machinery of the EU, through the Schengen agreement. That covers eight of the EU’s 15 members, including Italy (in part) as of yesterday, with Austria and Greece to be added next year.

In the spectrum of reluctance, it is difficult but important to draw the line between xenophobia and the national interest. Certainly, *The Sunday Telegraph* disgraced itself last week by reporting the Italian accession in a news story as “raising the spectre of a surge of illegal, diseased and violent Third World immigrants”. But Tony Blair was right to insist in the Amsterdam rewrite of the Maastricht Treaty that border controls should remain a matter for member states rather than the EU. Unless it is argued that all immigration controls are

wrong in principle, then countries must have the right to police their borders in – to use the consensual cliché of British politics – a “fair but firm” way.

And if countries want to share jurisdiction over common external borders – as the UK does to a large extent with Ireland – then that requires a degree of mutual trust and popular consent which is still lacking between many EU members. It is, for example, not xenophobic to ask, as the Germans and Dutch have done, what happened to the 16,000 refugees who fled to Italy from Albania earlier this year. Some of the recurring problems which have dogged the Schengen agreement since it came into effect two years ago reflect popular anti-immigration prejudice, especially in France. But many arise from the difficulty of one nation contracting out the policing of borders to authorities which it cannot hold to account.

Cosmopolitan Britons, then, will have to carry their passports for a while yet. Kent

may prefer to see itself as part of the Trans Manche region of northern France and Belgium rather than the South-east of England, and it may be easier to get from Waterloo to Paris than to many of the south London suburbs served by the privatised wreckage of Network SouthEast. But national borders, however porous, will be with us for some time. In the end, the need for border checks is more likely to be abolished by the technology of identification than by the emergence of a United States of Europe. Anyone who buys a Le Shuttle ticket with a credit card has already given a computer enough information to find their address, phone number and creditworthiness, and theoretically their cars, family members and consumer preferences. So it is already possible, without even entering the argument about national sovereignty, to envisage a future in which freedom of movement in Europe is constrained by environmental considerations rather than passport controls.

Post letters to Letters to the Editor and include a daytime telephone number. Fax 0171 293 2056; e-mail: letters@independent.co.uk. E-mail correspondents are asked to give a postal address. Letters may be edited for length and clarity.

LETTERS

Foetal pain

Sir: Your front-page headline “Could this foetus feel pain? Doctors’ doubts reopen abortion battle” (25 October) is both misleading and irresponsible. You use a report on the findings of an authoritative report by the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists on foetal pain to make general and unsubstantiated comments on abortion generally. This is a highly emotional area, and demands responsible reporting.

The College report concludes that before 26 weeks of pregnancy, the foetus does not feel pain. Only 0.05 per cent of abortions are performed at 25 weeks or over. Therefore, in the vast majority of abortions performed in this country, most of which are carried out before 12 weeks, there seems to be no evidence that the foetus feels any pain.

In addition, previous advice from the College on late terminations is that the first procedure undertaken is to stop the foetal heart. Once this is done, the question of pain no longer arises.

These operations are usually performed for gross foetal abnormalities, and are obviously extremely emotionally traumatic for the mother. Current procedures are designed to reduce this trauma as far as possible, on the basis that the mother will always be our prime concern.

DR MICHAEL WILKS
Chairman,
Medical Ethics Committee,
BMA

Sir: Maternal deaths from abortion were declining in number before the Abortion Act was passed. After the Act was passed, maternal deaths went on declining at a similar rate. Legalising abortion did little for women’s health: what it did do is to produce an enormous increase in the number of abortions performed.

Like other social ills – for example, suicide – abortion will always be with us. It is, however, possible, with abortion as with suicide, to keep the numbers down. The way to keep the numbers down is not by making “help” with abortion or suicide legal and available on the NHS. Unlike abortion, suicide



directly harms the individual alone. Having said this, suicidal parents will sometimes want to kill both their children and themselves. Should we respond (as we do) by seeking to prevent this – or by offering the chance to go ahead in sterile surroundings?

Emotional distress on the part of a parent – whether the child is born or unborn – is a reason to offer that person support, not the death of her child.

DR HELEN WATT
Research Fellow
The Linacre Centre,
London NW8

Sir: The idea put forward that the latest report on foetal pain issued by the RCOG could “reopen the abortion battle” is misleading. In fact there is no possibility of a “battle” about abortion. There is now a clear consensus in favour of abortion being safe and legal, and no

prospect of the legislation that allows for this being undermined by opponents of abortion. The pain “debate” relates specifically to late-term abortion, which accounts for a very small proportion of terminations carried out in Britain each year – between 50 and 100. This issue has no relevance for the vast majority of abortions. The only reason it has become an issue at all is because of manipulation by the anti-abortion lobby.

Aware that they have next to no support for their campaign to make abortion illegal, they play up minor issues about late-term abortion to stir up the “yuk-factor”.

Fortunately most people can see through their cynical attempts to generate discomfort about the need for access to abortion.

ELLIE LEE
Pro-Choice Forum
Camberbury

Sir: I wonder whether we might hear a little less about the possible pain felt by 92 foetuses being aborted, out of nearly 180,000, and a little more about the 92 women who desperately wanted to have children and were prevented from doing so by a heartbreaking discovery very late in pregnancy that their foetus suffered from severe abnormality, or that their own life was in imminent danger.

It is understandable that the *Daily Mail* and Roman Catholic fanatics should hype up a non-existent problem for political reasons, but surely we can expect better of *The Independent*, on this the 30th anniversary of the Abortion Act which has made such a massive contribution to the health and welfare of nearly 5,000,000 British women since 1967.

MADELINE SIMMS
London NW11

Islamophobia

Sir: Not for the first time, Polly Toynbee (“In defence of Islamophobia”, 23 October) is a rare voice of reason and humanity in a moral debate, usually the monopoly of a pious cartel of religious leaders and other bigots.

How refreshing to see challenged in print the taboo which seems to protect anybody peddling racist, homophobic, unreasonably or unlikely views cloaked in the language of religion. What a relief that somebody has the courage to apply the same test of decency to those whose reactionary ideology happens to spring from their religious beliefs, as to those with unpleasant or irrational views of a more profane origin.

STEVE MORRIS
Brussels

Sir: Polly Toynbee has profoundly misunderstood the nature of education in her article.

Values, religious or philosophical, cannot be separated from education. No school is value-free.

If Ms Toynbee had her way, the school system would be dominated by a dull conformity to rational, materialist values, where the expression of religious faith becomes the new heresy. Children would readily absorb the message that rationalism is the overriding belief system and that it is deviant to think differently. I would object as strongly to “Rationalism on the rates” as I object to a system that excludes Muslim schools from state funding.

RUTH CHENOWETH
Co-ordinator
Third Sector Schools Alliance
Windsor
Berkshire

Sir: Polly Toynbee continues the persistent association of Islam

with barbaric justice in referring to Saudi Arabian courts.

Many Muslims, too, are horrified that justice in Saudi Arabia works as it does; they are equally horrified that this is described as Islamic. It may be Saudi justice, but it is not Islamic, any more than British justice is Christian.

It is also deeply mistaken to associate Muslims with “New Agers, astrologists, Moonies or any other sect with a sufficient number of followers”. Islam is a religion in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, with over a billion followers (good and bad); it is a great world religion which was intended to improve the lot of humanity.

Islam deserves our respect, not ignorant condemnation. ALEX HALL
Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations
University of Warwick
Coventry

Mal Hussain

Sir: You report (4 October) on the case in which Mal Hussain won the right to sue Lancaster City Council over the racist attacks he has suffered. Mr Hussain has had to suffer appalling harassment. However, the council vigorously denies the allegation that it has done nothing to help him.

Your report mentions a number of criminal convictions, including that of Craig Waring. The evidence leading to the conviction of Mr Waring and his co-accused was supplied to the police by professional witnesses employed by the City Council.

You report that no one has been evicted. However, seven tenants had “notices of intention to seek possession” served on them and left the estate prior to eviction proceedings. These are still continuing in one case and a further seven tenants have given legal undertakings about their behaviour.

The Council has used what powers it has. We will defend our record if the case comes to court. We will continue to take vigorous action against anti-social and racist behaviour.

IAN BARKER
Deputy Leader
Lancaster City Council

Age of Anxiety

Sir: I also attended the launch of the report *The Age of Anxiety* (NCH Action for Children) and take exception to your article “What children really fear” (23 October). NCH’s research is problematic: it confuses the perception of a problem with the reality; and the terms in the questionnaire were too vague and invited the results that appeared.

So for example, the report states that 82 per cent of children in the poll were worried about violence. When asked at the launch what the researchers meant by “violence” in their question to the children, NCH could not answer. I am sure every one, including children, worries about violence, but this does not mean, as your article implied, that 82 per cent of children live in constant dread of being victims of domestic violence themselves.

TIFFANY JENKINS
Chair, Families for Freedom
London WC1

Unsure about what's important in current affairs? You know more than you think



MILES KINGTON

How have you been following the news in the past few days?

Well? Badly? With trepidation? With anticipation? With the usual incomprehension, owing to the fact that nobody puts any real news on the air ...?

Well, it's easy to find out how well you are with the news, because today I am bringing you a quiz based on news stories of the last week or so. All you have to do is pick the most plausible answer.

1. Why has the Hong Kong Hang Seng index plunged into a spiralling downfall?

a) Because Chris Patten wasn't there to look after it
b) Because the East couldn't maintain its growth for

ever, thank goodness, and now the Orient is going to be full of wounded paper dragons and lame Bombay ducks instead of being a threat to Europe, not that we are triumphalist, we must seem to be very concerned, on the other hand, ha ha ha ha ...

c) Because Hong Kong is now in the hands of the Chinese Communists and they haven't got the faintest idea how to run a stock exchange

d) Because Hong Kong is now in the hands of the Chinese Communists and they are cleverly using the Stock Exchange to bring capitalism crashing to its knees

2. All the football hooligans who terrorised Rome last week

end have now been released, except for one fat, bespectacled Englishman who has been identified by the Italian police as the ringleader. His name is David Mellor. True or false?

3. The Booker Prize was awarded last week to whom?

a) Oh, was it?

b) Nice to see the word “whom” being used properly.

4. You are sitting at breakfast, reading the paper, when you come across an item saying that the NHS can only recover from the years of Tory neglect by massive injections of cash, and you say half out loud to yourself:

“Here we go again – new government blaming everything on their predecessors. I don't care

whose fault it is – just get it right!” Just at that moment, the phone rings and a voice says, “We couldn't help overhearing what you were just saying and we would just like to point out that Labour is going to look after the NHS in a very real and positive sense, and by the way, it was all the fault of the Conservatives, so don't let us have any of this nonsense again!” The voice then rings off.

Do you say to yourself:

a) “By gum, these New Labour spin doctors are even more thorough than I thought!”

b) “Yes, but if the British population looked after itself properly, we wouldn't need an NHS.”

c) “I'd better not have any thoughts about what I really think about Europe and the single currency or I'll be getting phone calls all morning.”

5. When you see a headline saying: “Why is the whole world ignoring this scandal?!” what do think it is most likely to be a story about?

a) Gypsies at Dover

b) Massacres in Algeria

c) Boys' homes in North Wales

d) Some innocent joke made by Tony Banks which, if uttered on *The News Quiz*, would get him a thunderous round of applause?

e) The imminent disappearance of the lesser-spotted grebe from Dorset

f) The imminent disappearance of all water supplies from the Earth

6. When you see the newspaper heading on a personality profile, “Will The Real ... Stand Up Please?”, whose name do you expect to fill that gap?

a) Michael Palin

b) George Soros

c) Stephen Fry

d) Cherie Blair

e) Michael Palin

7. She was a princess. She did a great deal of work for charity – men involving children. Her marriage came to a loveless end. She went on to find Mr Right. We never hear anything about her. How does Princess Anne keep out of the limelight when others failed?

a) Sensational?

b) A load of new rope?

8. The BBC celebrated its 75th anniversary in 1997. How has it chosen to do this?

a) By spending all its money on covering the evacuation of Hong Kong

b) By spending all its money on turning the BBC into *Hello!* magazine in the wake of Diana's funeral

c) By spending all its money on bumping up John Birt's pay packet

d) By spending all its money on telling everyone that it is now 75 years old.

9. Do you think that an art exhibition called *Sensation* is more likely to be:

a) Sensational?

b) A load of new rope?

10. Who was John Major?

Overture and Beginners for Mr Mandelson



**TOM
SUTCLIFFE
EAVESDROPPING
IN THE STALLS**

I found myself feeling sorry for Peter Mandelson the other night – not a common mental state. Indeed, in the normal course of things I don't spend a lot of time thinking about Mr Mandelson one way or another. Last Thursday, though, I didn't have much choice because I found myself sitting next to him at the National Theatre, watching Patrick Marber's play *Closer*.

It was an entirely coincidental circumstance that proved oddly distracting. When he first appeared I felt the urge to acknowledge his arrival with one of those instinctive greetings that is pitched at the lowest degree of intimacy, a "Hi" that says "Hmmm. Can't quite remember the name but I know I know you from somewhere so the odds are you must know me". The recognition software in your brain automatically sends a start-up message to the politeness programme, only to hit the cancel button when it realises that you have encountered fame, not familiarity. You see, just in time, that this person who has a place in your mental landscape doesn't even know you're on the map.

His entrance, I have to say, was very unassuming. No fuss, no processional languor down the aisle, none of those little pantomimes in which you distractedly look for someone at the furthest reaches of the auditorium, so that everyone in the intervening rows will have a chance to recognise you. But, simply because it was my knees that had to swing sideways to let him past, he was unavoidably up-stage in the performance that followed. This wasn't simply down to the self-consciousness that proximity to fame can induce. He received a number of pager messages in the first act, for example, and while his pager must have been one of those discreet models that tickles you to attract your attention I couldn't help being curious about what was being communicated. Presumably his pager isn't on the same loop as the electronic tag now worn by all Labour MPs. This is, after all, the pager to which infractions of probation would be reported. More exciting than that, it was the very pager by which the Prime Minister would – should he need to – summon the Cardinal Mazarin of the Labour Party. What solemn affairs of state might be flickering across that tiny green screen?

But that wasn't the only reason that Mr Mandelson rather impinged on my evening. I also found that I was curious about how he would react to the play. At one point in Marber's play, for example, two characters exchange obscene messages over a computer link – a silent scene in which graphic sexual invitations are projected onto a giant screen. And such moments are always likely to arouse

speculations about your fellow audience members. Is the elderly woman in front of you shocked, you wonder, or does she find this dramatic liberty thrilling? Has that party of German tourists really got the full force of "suck me senseless"?

With Mr Mandelson though the stakes were rather higher, because he is already a character in larger drama. And if I was aware of this, then it was hardly inconceivable that he might be too.

I found the perfect description of what I took to be his plight in Erving Goffman's celebrated book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (a work which should be a set-text for any aspiring spin doctor). In his chapter on "The Arts of Impression Management" Goffman talks of the importance of "dramaturgical discipline". "While the performer is ostensibly immersed and given over to the activity he is performing", he writes, "and is apparently engrossed in his actions in a spontaneous, uncalculating way, he must none the less be affectively dissociated from his presentation in a way that leaves him free to cope with dramaturgical contingencies as they arise. He must offer a show of intellectual and emotional involvement in the activity he is presenting, but must keep himself from actually being carried away by his own show lest this destroy his involvement in the task of putting on a successful performance."

In the case of Patrick Marber's play there were quite a few "dramaturgical contingencies", that is points at which a mental spotlight swung round to illuminate Mr Mandelson's demeanour. In one scene, for instance, there is a jokey exchange about the cupemisms used in obituaries – one of the characters explains that "he valued his privacy" means "gay"; and "he enjoyed his privacy" can be taken to stand for "ragging queen".

Given that Mr Mandelson must confidently expect to be obituarised one day, and given that his chances of passing unrecognised in the National Theatre were rather small he was unlikely to guffaw raucously at this point (even if he had felt like it). But if he laughed at all what could it be taken to mean? Similarly at another point in the play one character explains that "Without [truth] we're animals". Would he issue a wry chuckle at this dictum or a sigh of melancholy recognition? More to the point would he have to vet any expression before issuing it, just as one would check a press release? For the record I should report that his responses gave little away.

Of course, it's entirely possible that Mr Mandelson spent the entire evening blithely immersed in Marber's imaginary world, that he quite forgot himself. But to be mildly self-conscious in such circumstances would not be evidence of sinister calculation. This is, after all, the pager to which infractions of probation would be reported. More exciting than that, it was the very pager by which the Prime Minister would – should he need to – summon the Cardinal Mazarin of the Labour Party. What solemn affairs of state might be flickering across that tiny green screen?

How Colonel Gaddafi put one over on the Foreign Office

**MARC
WELLER
MANDELA'S
DIPLOMACY**

Even the high and mighty must play by the rules. This rather painful lesson is now being administered by South Africa and other governments to the United Kingdom and the United States over the Lockerbie case. The news yesterday of Nelson Mandela's splendidly impudent offer to mediate and help break the deadlock in relations with Libya must be seen in this context.

Throughout the case Washington and London have sought to exploit the structures of the new world order which was then beginning to emerge to combat the evil of terrorism. However noble the goal, both governments went about this important task with the delicacy of a rouge elephant inspecting the wares of a Waterford crystal shop.

Late in 1991, the Lord Advocate of Scotland charged two men – Abdelbaset Ali Mohamed Al Megrahi and Al Amin Khal-

ifa Fhimah – with conspiracy, murder and contravention of the Aviation Security Act. The two, it was alleged, had caused the explosion of PAN AM 103 over Lockerbie, acting as secret agents for Libya. The UK and US governments accordingly demanded that Tripoli surrender the pair for trial in Scotland.

Libya did the unexpected. In exact compliance with the 1971 Montreal Convention to Suppress Acts of Violence against Civil Aviation, it arrested both suspects, appointed an investigating magistrate and requested to see the evidence against the two, so as to consider whether they should be either tried or extradited.

Somewhat wrongfooted, London and Washington argued that the convention could not apply in this instance. After all, no one would seriously expect Libya to try her own agents for their devastatingly successful act.

However, the Montreal convention had been drafted by the Western states in the wake of the first wave of international terrorism. In order to cover all possible cases of terrorist outrage, it addresses itself broadly to "any person" who engages in terrorist activities against civil aviation, whether acting on behalf of a state or not.



Gaddafi: knew the letter of the law

And rather than appearing to frustrate the aims of the convention in this instance, Tripoli seemed to co-operate in its implementation. Colonel Gaddafi offered to allow the two suspects to be interviewed by US and UK officials in a neutral venue. His government also suggested that, despite Libyan constitutional restrictions, the men might be sent to a third state for trial.

Libya even proposed to go to independent arbitration over the question of whether or not it was complying with its legal obligations. When the US and the UK moved to obtain UN

Security Council sanctions against Libya, the country called upon the International Court of Justice at The Hague to preserve its rights through an emergency procedure, pending the rendering of a full judgement. Now, the two western governments found themselves in the dock, rather than Colonel Gaddafi.

To forestall an adverse finding by the Court, in April 1992 Washington and London bowed the Security Council into endorsing a mandatory resolution, demanding the surrender of the suspects and imposing sanctions. The

resolution was adopted immediately after the emergency hearing of the court had been adjourned, and just before a judgement was to be given. The result was the creation of a *Lex Libya* – that is to say a special law which was applicable only to this one nation. This in effect trumped previous rights and removed the matter from the purview of the court until a full hearing could be held some years later.

In this way, the two states had indeed managed to create their own law in their own case. Through their position in the Security Council, they had also managed to appoint themselves, at least provisionally, as judges in this matter. Instead of the International Court of Justice. And by imposing worldwide sanctions, they have even managed to act as the enforcers of their particular interests. All this had been done without actually producing any evidence against either Libya or the two suspects.

This arrogation of authority in the hands of a few states was disturbing for other states, especially, but not exclusively, in the less developed world. Washington and London therefore managed to achieve the impossible. In addition to undermining faith in the UN

Security Council, they have impelled the members of Organisation of African States, the Organisation of Islamic States and a majority in the UN General Assembly to unite in support of Libya and its rights.

Perhaps more disturbingly, the arrogance and inflexibility on the part of Washington and London has prolonged the agony of the relatives of the Lockerbie victims. They have now had to live with deadlock for some five years. Nelson Mandela's initiative, while a slap in the face of the Foreign Office, may therefore offer to them some hope of movement.

There exists at present no international tribunal which could exercise jurisdiction over the two suspects. However, virtually all states have in place legislation which would empower them to try individuals charged with international terrorism offences. A trial in such a third state could be arranged without undermining the demands of justice in relation to the victims' relatives and the demands of procedural fairness in relation to the suspects.

The author is the Deputy Director of the Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge



Campaigners in 1967 expected abortion to become the refuge of the young, the mad and the hopeless

Photograph: Hulton Getty

What did we want? Not just abortion



**POLLY
TOYNEE
UNPLANNED
PREGNANCIES**

Today's 30th anniversary of the passing of the abortion law is arousing all the old warhorses. Cardinal Hume has written an open letter to Tony Blair, while anti-abortion campaigners are delivering a petition to Downing Street after dropping flowers off Westminster bridge in memory of dead foetuses. Is theirs a lost cause?

Almost certainly, despite an alarming opinion poll yesterday's *Sunday Telegraph* that purports to show that 60 per cent of women want the abortion law severely tightened, limiting it to just 10 weeks of pregnancy from the current 24 week threshold. For each time parliament has debated abortion since 1967, public opinion has swung strongly in favour once all the old arguments are aired again. Spasms of disquiet about the high rate of abortion happen when people are polled in isolation from the broader debate. It's easy to forget just how bloody the alternatives were before 1967 when women went to any self-mutilating lengths to abort un-

wanted pregnancies. It's easy to forget that those who would be denied abortions if the time limit were narrowed would be those too hopeless to act early – those least likely to cope with an unwanted child.

No one "likes" abortion, least of all the 40 per cent of British women who will have one at some time during their lives – but they are profoundly thankful nonetheless. As a student campaigning for the 1967 act we marched along the streets yelling, "What do we want? Abortion! When do we want it? Now!" as if it were some kind of treat. For abortion remains the *sine qua non* of women's freedom.

What would we have predicted if someone had asked us then how things would be in 30 years' time? We would have said that abortion would become rare – a last resort for the very young, the mad and the hopeless. By 1997, we'd have said, with free contraception, with sex education in schools and a new openness about sex, we would have done away with the hypocrisy and double standards that left so many women pregnant by accident. "Every baby a wanted baby!" was the slogan.

Instead abortions have more than doubled to nearly 168,000 last year. One fifth of all pregnancies end in abortion, though it is no one's contraceptive of choice. Even these high figures are not high enough, since many more women would be better off if they had abortions, if only they had the right advice at the right time, warning of the harsh facts of life as a single mother.

Why are the figures so high? Partly due to late marriage; most abortions are not among

teenagers, but among women in their mid-twenties who years ago would have been married. Their unplanned pregnancy would have led to births within marriage, and a higher birth rate. Now that women defer marriage until their late twenties, it is almost inevitable that during those sexually active years many will conceive by mistake.

All the same, it remains astonishing that as many as half of all pregnancies are unplanned, according to Family Planning Association research – despite safe and convenient contraception undreamed of by our grandmothers.

What does it mean? The word "unplanned" covers everything from those who don't much mind having a baby to those who are horrified to find themselves pregnant. It suggests that the strange and difficult decision to create another human being is, not surprisingly, often arrived at indirectly, elliptically, evasively. The number of medically well-informed women who get pregnant "by accident" suggests dirty work somewhere in the subconscious. Mother Nature, red and tooth and claw, is no friend to women, whatever all those New Age worshippers think. She has a nasty habit of tapping women's inner ear, bullying, chivvying, co-ercing them. "Go on, have a baby, go on, do it, do it now!"

Whatever the reason, a great many women are appalled at finding themselves unexpectedly pregnant, despite the certainty of the pill, which is also one of the safest medicines in the world. Alas, taking its wonder for granted, women are continually encouraged to

feel uneasy about it. Mother Nature doesn't like the pill, whispering to women that it disrupts natural rhythms so it must be bad, must endanger future fertility, which it doesn't. The pill just doesn't belong to the culture of the Body Shop, the holistic, organic spirit of the age. (Well, give or take a packet of cigarettes, a few lagers, an E or two and a couple of spliffs). It's irrational, but women have never learned to love the pill.

That's why they have been easily swept away by scares, as in the 1995 announcement of a minuscule pill risk, gleefully inflated by the moralising tabloids. AIDS advertising encouraging the use of condoms lead many not to realise that condom "safe sex" doesn't mean a high degree of safety from pregnancy.

So, a surprising number of women remain surprisingly ill-informed about contraception. Despite that, a third of health authorities this year have cut their family planning services, some no longer offering vasectomies, others only funding clinics for the under-21s. Many GPs know scarcely more about contraception than the women they dolc out the pill to. Often only clinics have the time and experience to explain. For example, some women who may complain of imaginary side-

effects from the pill often turn out to need to talk about their problems and relationships rather than their contraception. Those who want to reduce the number of abortions should be out campaigning for an easily available clinic in every area, and in every school.

Meanwhile, abortions are not available on the NHS for some 30 per cent of women who need them. Some doctors still turn women away with scant advice. I spoke last week to a 23-year-old from Bournemouth who, like many, had no idea where to turn when her religious GP told her to have her unwanted baby: "You'll learn to love it". After several visits, by throwing a screaming fit, she was eventually given the name of a clinic.

Back in 1967 we believed in progress. We thought by now there would be the best possible sex education for all. We would have predicted a nurse offering confidential services in every school. We would have expected abortion on demand by now, as a right, without having to pretend to two doctors that you'll go mad if you don't get one. Instead, here we are in an ever more sexually titillated society, still dithering about sex education, still coy about contraception and still ambivalent on abortions that result from those other failings.

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Sir Anthony Dawson

them to recover a judgment obtained against their insured, had merely to indicate an intention to take such proceedings. There was no need to give notice as to the commencement of proceedings nor for any notice to be given in writing or in any particular form.

The appellant in person, Philip Astor (M. Nichols & Co. Basingstoke) for the insurers.

them to recover a judgment obtained against their insured, had merely to indicate an intention to take such proceedings. There was no need to give notice as to the commencement of proceedings nor for any notice to be given in writing or in any particular form.

The appellants in person; Philip Asor (M. Nichols & Co., solicitors).

Order-driven system a technical success but traders remain wary

WEEK AHEAD



DEREK PAIN
STOCK
MARKET
REPORTER
OF THE YEAR

A revolutionary new trading system and a roller-coaster run for shares - it was certainly a week which will live in the stock market memory.

The Stock Exchange must be relieved Hong Kong held back its crash for a few days. It was not until Thursday, with three days of order-driven trading under its belt, that the market had to contend with a volatile, bloodbath session as the former colony's share decline suddenly assumed worrying dimensions.

Compared with Hong Kong, the Chancellor, Gordon Brown's EMU muddle, which sent Footsie scuttling 118.8 points lower at one time, made a more modest impression.

But what if Hong Kong's slump had occurred on Monday when the Chancellor pressed a button to launch order-driven trading? There

could have been acute embarrassment in the Stock Exchange Tower.

The 1987 crash was blissfully ignored when it was decided to introduce the new order last Monday, the anniversary of the most frightening stock market day since the war. The national approach that lightning does not strike twice was adopted. But it so nearly did. And if Thursday's turmoil, accompanied by a deluge of wild stories, had occurred on Monday, the new order could have experienced a damagingly chaotic introduction.

Technically, order-driven trading has been a success; it seems to have created far less aggravation than other changes, such as Crest, the computerised share settlement. But with only 40 per cent of Footsie trades going through the order book there

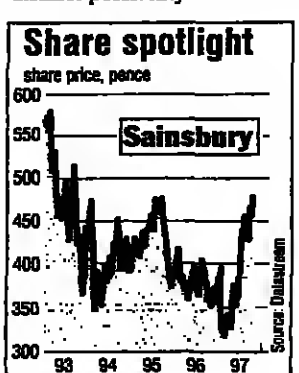
is clearly resistance among traders. As time progresses more deals will be ploughed through the book. But the new order will eventually be judged on just how many deals it carries - and it has a long way to go before trading reaches a satisfactory level and the system is fully tested.

There is also a nagging worry about costs. Although Stock Exchange charges were reduced to accommodate the new style of trading, the order book has a tendency to increase the number of deals needed to complete a bargain, thus pushing up back-office costs.

Last week Footsie careered violently. It ended 300 points down with Friday's rally removing some of the anxiety generated by Hong Kong and the Far East markets.

Clearly Thursday's performance for a time aroused

crash worries. With some now regarding the 1987 meltdown as a mere blip, the 3 per cent Footsie decline hardly registers on the Richter scale. Still there are some who wonder whether the bull run is over. Few, except the deepest pessimists, see a crash on the way. But a correction, say as much as 10 per cent from the peak, must be a distinct possibility.



to world terms Hong Kong is not an important market but it does have close links with London. It had seemed impervious to the problems of other Far East markets. There are fears it will continue to fall, but perhaps in a more orderly fashion. NatWest Securities believes the Hang Seng index may go to 7,000 points (last week's close was 11,144.34) in the next six months.

With Asia's last safe haven under attack, the problems in the Tiger markets could become even more acute, hitting western economies.

However, last week's gyrations do not seem to have dented the long-term enthusiasm of market strategists. Many expect a few dull months, with Richard Jeffery at Charterhouse Tilney looking for Footsie at 4,400 at the end of December. He is on 5,300 for

1998's close but many others are shooting for 5,800, even 6,000.

J Sainsbury, the supermarket chain, is top of this week's profits agenda. Interim figures on Wednesday should indicate the strength of the recovery which Tony MacNeary at NatWest Securities likens to raising the Titanic.

The supermarket revival, he believes, should offset some of the less receptive operations such as those in America. He sees figures of £402m against £387m with a year's outcome of £720m (£651m).

Pilkington, also on Wednesday, is expected to produce interim profits of £62m although restructuring costs could shatter the figures, seeding the struggling glass-maker into the red. The new chief executive, Paolo Scaroni, has ordered a strategic review and it would be sur-

prising if he does not decide on plant closures.

BAT Industries, which is fulfilling the market's demerger expectations by linking its financial operations with Zurich Insurance of Switzerland, is likely to suffer a nine-month profit downturn, say £1.82bn against £1.97bn.

On Thursday Anglia launches the interim water reporting season which could feature a series of share buy-backs and special dividends. However the windfall tax will confuse matters. Anglia's figures should emerge at around £145m and be accompanied by an upbeat trading statement. The figures will include a three-month contribution from the Hartlepool Water acquisition. Cosmetics group The Body Shop International also has interim results this week. Around £12.8m, up £1m, is likely.

Share Price Data									
Prices are in sterling unless otherwise stated. The yield is the latest twelve months' dividend gross. Dividends are in pence. The share price is the closing price. The P/E ratio is the share price divided by last year's earnings per share, excluding extraordinary items but including extraordinary gains. Prices are in sterling unless otherwise stated. The yield is the latest twelve months' dividend gross. Dividends are in pence. The share price is the closing price. The P/E ratio is the share price divided by last year's earnings per share, excluding extraordinary items but including extraordinary gains.									
The Independent Teleshare - Tel. 0891 - 201 200									
You can inspect any current data in hours at the Independent Share Price by keying 'plus a 4 digit code' on the teletext page.									
To get a Membership Number to use-up your Portfolio facility, please call the Help Desk on 01-729-0288 (during business hours).									
For help with the services, including the Portfolio facility, call the Help Desk on 01-729-0288.									
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Coopers & Lybrand to submit merger proposals to EC

Coopers & Lybrand and Price Waterhouse will make submissions to the European Commission within the next fortnight on their proposed merger amid speculation that the Office of Fair Trading is likely to recommend a reduction in the number of leading companies the combined firm could audit. Tom Stevenson, Financial Editor, reports on the accountants' controversial consolidation.



John Bridgeman said to be demanding reductions

Coopers & Lybrand yesterday dismissed weekend press reports that the Office of Fair Trading was planning to demand a 20 per cent reduction in the number of FTSE 100 clients the firm could audit if it went ahead with its proposed merger with Price Waterhouse.

Coopers said it would submit its proposals to merge with Price Waterhouse to Karel van Miert's office in the European Commission at the beginning of November. Only then would the EC seek submissions from the likes of the OFT and the firms' competitors and clients.

It was reported yesterday that the OFT had already signalled to the EC that the Coopers/PW combination should be forced to shed up to 10 of its 48 FTSE 100 clients. John Bridgeman was also understood to be demanding a smaller reduction from KPMG and Ernst & Young, which announced merger plans last week in response to their rivals' proposal.

If the four firms get the green light for their planned tie-ups, only 12 of the UK's leading 100 firms will not have their audits conducted by one of the two accountancy giants. That consolidation of power has angered clients of the firms, which fear the creation of the accountancy monoliths will severely restrict choice and could lead to higher fees.

The 100 group of finance directors of Britain's leading companies has said it is considering taking action to oppose the planned mergers.

Together, 88 FTSE 100 companies contribute to audit fees of almost £170m to the four firms. Losing a proportion of that income would only be a part of the story, however, because the firms all use audit as a means of cementing relationships with companies in order to sell more expensive consultancy services.

The accountants reacted angrily to the suggestion that the OFT might tell them to lose clients. One said: "We don't see how the regulators can tell us to shed clients. It's not like get-

ting rid of pubs. It's the clients who come to us. If we tell them to go they may say no."

There is a groundswell of opinion that the mergers offer little to clients. Kidsons Impey, a medium-sized accountancy firm outside the Big Six but one of the UK's 10 largest, said yesterday: "Not all clients are demanding the greater size that the Big Six are aiming for. Size is not everything."

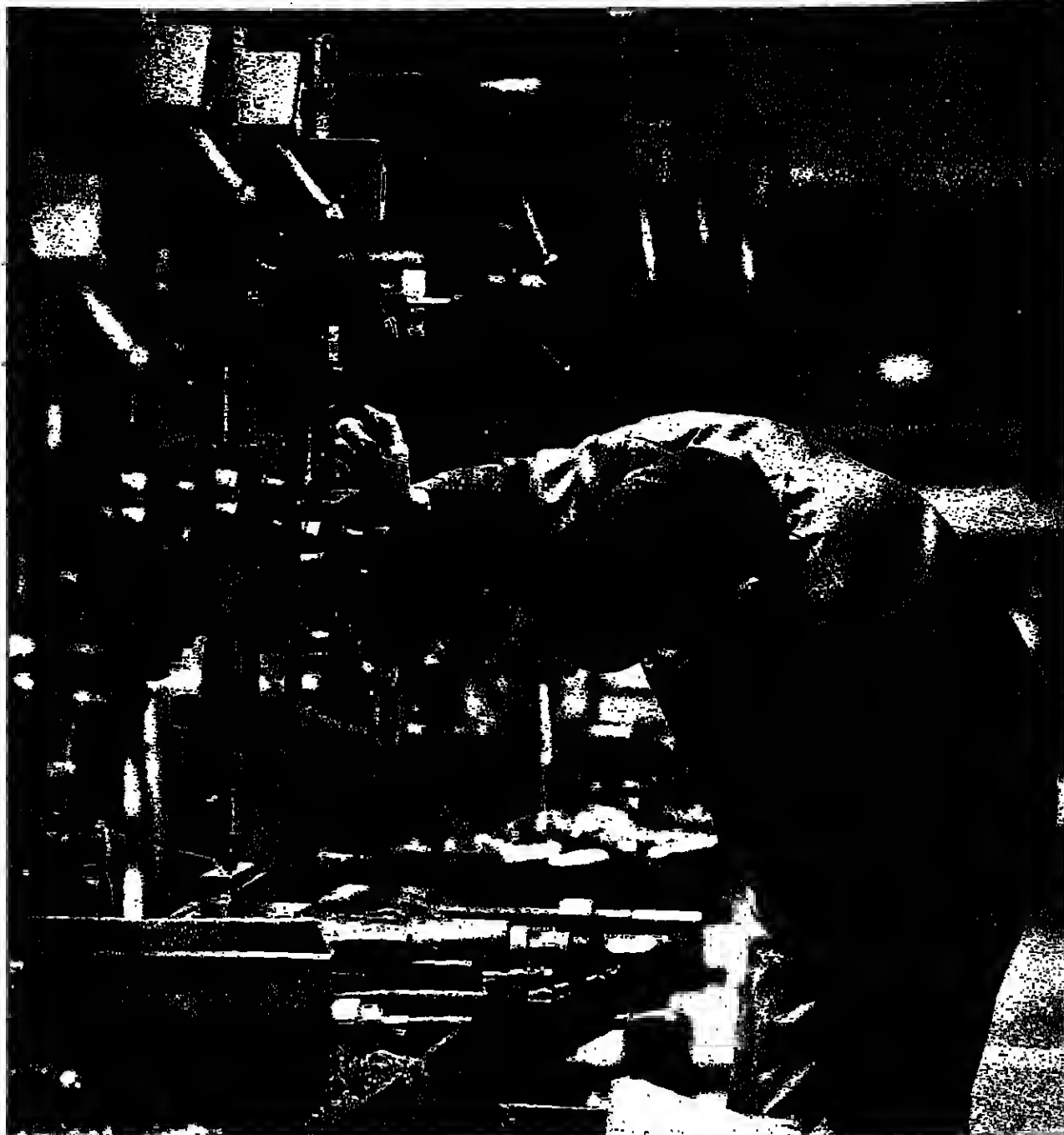
Peter Douglas, managing partner at Kidsons, added: "Businesses want a personal, hands-on local service, as well as access to a full range of specialist services, including international expertise. This is exactly what middle-tier firms are delivering."

That view was backed up by the finance director of one FTSE 100 company with a range of businesses in both the UK and US, who said all the Big Six firms would be capable of servicing its requirements without the need to merge.

Whether the firms will get the opportunity to get together as they plan is considered much less likely since the announcement by KPMG and Ernst & Young that they were jumping on the merger bandwagon. The two hotly denied that their proposal was nothing more than an attempt to queer their rivals' pitch with the regulators.

It is understood that Ernst & Young was talking with Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu, one of the two remaining unengaged accountants, only 10 days before agreeing to get together with KPMG.

It has also been suggested that critical comments from Ernst senior partner Nick Land at the time of Coopers/PW announcement meant the latest merger bid was not serious.



Putting paid to low earnings: A minimum wage of £3.85 would affect 11 per cent of employees aged 21 and over

Minimum wage of £3.85 an hour 'would not cost jobs'

Senior researchers from the Centre for Economic Performance (CEP) at the London School of Economics have submitted evidence to the Low Pay Unit arguing for a minimum wage of £3.85 per hour. According to the team, research on the impact of the now-abolished Wages Councils showed that set-

ting a minimum wage at that level would not cost jobs.

The researchers also recommended a three-tier rate with a minimum wage for 16-17 year olds of only £2.50, rising to £3 per hour for 18-20 year olds. No workers of any age should be exempt from the minimum, the CEP said, but there should

be lower rates for those aged under 21 who were working towards accredited vocational qualifications. For those a rate of £2 for 16-17 year olds and £2.50 an hour for 18-20 year olds was suggested.

The rate of £3.85 an hour is in line with an inflation-adjusted average of minimum rates in

the Wages Councils when they were abolished in 1993. The average then was £3.07.

A national minimum wage introduced at £3.85 an hour would affect about 11 per cent of employees aged 21 and over. There are far more low-paid workers aged under 21, particularly those receiving training.

T&N in talks with rivals despite bid

T&N is still holding takeover talks with its competitors in the car parts industry despite agreeing to a £1.5bn cash bid from US group Federal-Mogul.

Sir Colin Hope, chairman of T&N, is thought to be conducting discussions with some of the group's leading rivals in an effort to top the 260p-a-share takeover bid the group has received from Federal-Mogul. According to industry sources, some of T&N's leading shareholders had been hoping for an offer of nearer 300p a share.

T&N's fate hinges on the decision of four institutions, PDM, M&G, Schroder and Robert Fleming, which together own more than 50 per cent of the company. One industry source said: "The institutions have let their feelings be known to T&N. They are likely to have encouraged Sir Colin to try and get a higher offer."

The Federal-Mogul bid does not include a lock-out clause, leaving T&N free to negotiate with other interested parties. Sir Colin admitted earlier this month he had already held takeover talks with other industry heads. Analysts believe another US car parts group, Dana Corporation, is favourite to launch a rival bid. British groups GKN and BBA are still believed to be interested in acquiring parts of the business but it is thought unlikely they will want to buy the whole of T&N.

Federal-Mogul is trying to push the deal through quickly and has submitted its proposals to the US Federal Trade Commission. However the takeover is unlikely to be finalised for at least three months.

Concerns that the new group will have a monopoly over the world's engine bearings market means it will have to undergo an in-depth investigation by the US and European competition authorities.

T&N declined to comment.

— Andrew Yates

GWR joins list of bidders for licence to run national digital radio service

The owner of Classic FM is expected to bid for the licence to run national digital radio services following lobbying by the radio industry to increase the amount of data that can be carried on digital frequencies. As Cathy Newman reports, that could persuade supermarkets and banks to get involved.

GWR, Classic FM's parent, has said that the prospect of CD-quality digital sound has persuaded it to commit to investing in the new technology, particularly as more than 30 per cent of the group's stations are broadcasting on AM frequencies at the moment.

The news comes just a week after *The Independent* revealed that Emag Radio, Capital Radio and DMG Radio were in

talks with NTL, the cable operator, about forming a consortium to bid for the national digital radio licence, which will carry between six and nine channels.

Ralph Bernard, chief executive of GWR, said digital radio would only take off if it had something different to offer, such as the ability to send text and images to the small screens built into digital radio receivers. Because of that, the group is lobbying the Government to increase the amount of capacity dedicated to data transmission.

A spokesman for the Department of Culture, Media and Sport said that at least 90 per cent of the capacity was to be used for programmes rather than "additional services". He said: "The Secretary of State will listen to any case that's brought. Representations have been made by the radio industry."

The Commercial Radio Companies Association, commercial radio's trade body, is also lobbying the Government

on the same issue. Increased capacity for data transmission would enable real-time information on share prices, among other things.

GWR, which is conducting a trial of a digital Classic FM service in London and Birmingham, is experimenting to see if listeners would be prepared to pay a subscription fee to receive real-time financial data over their radio sets.

Industry observers say supermarkets, banks and retailers could be tempted by the potential for data transmission to bid for the national commercial licence. GWR is talking to a high street retailer, which may be interested in joining the radio group's bid.

Mathew Horsman, media analyst at Henderson Crosthwaite, said: "An intriguing potential for digital growth would come from additional services not traditionally associated with radio — for example the provision of data. Broadcasters, re-

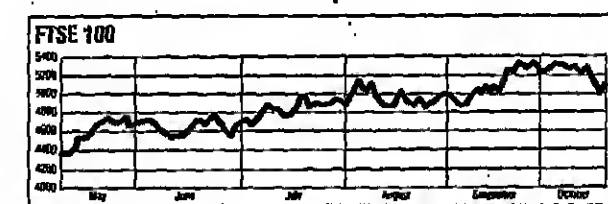
tailors and financial institutions would be interested in taking part in digital radio."

Classic FM is one of the three national commercial stations which are guaranteed a place on the digital multiplex. All three get an automatic extension of their eight-year licences as an incentive to invest in the new technology. Even so, Mr Bernard said it would cost between £10m and £20m to begin broadcasting the existing Classic FM service on digital.

The national commercial licence is advertised by the Radio Authority next spring and bids are due in during the summer. The winning bidder is to begin broadcasting in 1999. The BBC will be awarded the only other national licence, which it will use to broadcast its five existing radio stations using digital technology. It will also develop some new services.

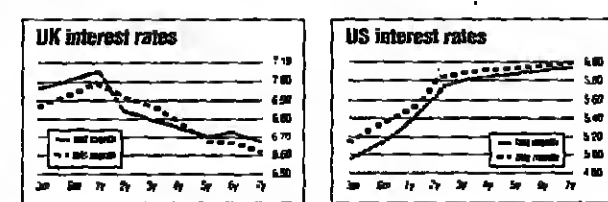
A series of local licences, perhaps up to 30, will be advertised during the year. GWR is likely to bid for these as well.

STOCK MARKETS



Indices	Close	Wk's chg	Wk's chg %	52 wk high	52 wk low	Yield (%)
FTSE 100	4970.20	-300.90	-5.71	5330.8	3900.4	3.496
FTSE 250	4636.70	-113.70	-2.30	4963.8	4344.1	3.344
FTSE 350	2410.40	-128.20	-5.05	2553.3	1949.2	3.465
FTSE All Share	2361.52	-118.98	-4.70	2492.41	1925.79	3.444
FTSE SmallCap	2380.4	-25.00	-1.07	2406.2	2128.4	3.159
FTSE 100 Div	1297.1	-16.00	-1.27	1346.5	1198.7	3.272
FTSE AIM	1011.4	-2.40	-0.24	1136	1008.8	0.975
Dow Jones	7715.41	-131.62	-1.69	8259.31	6972.73	1.734
Nikkei	17363.74	-114.68	-0.66	21418.25	17151.56	0.869
Hong Kong	11144.34	-2456.67	-18.06	16673.27	10426.3	3.731
Dax	4050.87	-10.53	-0.26	4439.93	2659.25	1.969

INTEREST RATES



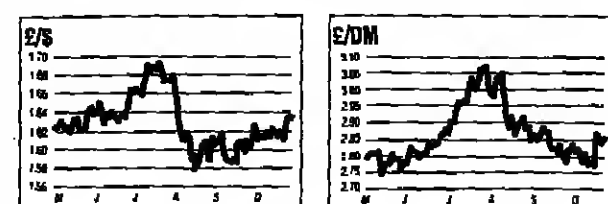
Money Market Rates	3 month	1 yr	1 yr	1 yr	1 yr	1 yr	1 yr
UK	7.37	1.30	7.56	1.13	6.53	-1.09	6.45
US	5.81	0.28	6.06	0.25	5.99	-0.59	6.28
Japan	0.53	0.03	0.58	-0.04	1.90	-0.86	2.51
Germany	3.68	0.57	4.20	0.84	5.64	-0.34	6.21

Bond Yields	1 yr	1 yr	1 yr	1 yr	1 yr	1 yr	1 yr
UK	6.53	1.13	6.53	1.13	6.53	1.13	6.53
US	5.99	0.25	5.99	0.25	5.99	0.25	5.99
Japan	1.90	-0.04	1.90	-0.04	1.90	-0.04	1.90
Germany	5.64	0.84	5.64	0.84	5.64	0.84	5.64

MAIN PRICE CHANGES

Rises	Falls	Unch
Bloomin' 662.5	-2.5	23.83
De la Rue 436	20	7.39
JB Sports 199.25	+93.47	179.95
Hanson 322	10	6.1
FTSE 100 4970.20	-300.90	5.71

CURRENCIES



Found	Index	Wk's chg	Tr App
Gold	1,635.5	+1.49c	1,609.8
D-Mark	2,803.7	+4.07p	2,419.9
Yen	199.25	+93.47	179.95
Index	101.70	+1.20	88.50

Dollar	Index	Wk's chg	Tr App
Sterling	0.6122	-0.57p	0.6247
Mark	1.7755	+0.25p	1.5173
Yen	121.98	+91.02	112.86
Index	105.60	0.50	97.40

OTHER INDICATORS

Index	Wk's chg	Tr App
Barclay 19.50	0.11	23.55
Gold 308.00	-16.25	383.15
Silver 4.90	-0.01	4.98
Base Rate	7.00	5.75

www.bloomberg.com

source: Bloomberg

Bass sizes up potential acquisitions

Bass is renewing its efforts to make a big acquisition, having been thwarted in its attempts to buy brewer Carlsberg-Tetley and the William Hill betting chain. Andrew Yates looks at the options available for the brewing and leisure giant.

Bass is eyeing up a range of acquisitions in the UK and overseas after coming under increasing pressure from the City to finalise a significant deal soon.

One analyst said: "Bass is a good company with sound management, but there is a growing feeling from investors that it needs to make a sizeable acquisition. If it doesn't there could be a lot of unhappy shareholders out there."

Bass was unfortunate in its Carlsberg-Tetley deal was controversially turned down by the new Labour Government. And shareholders can hardly complain that

Bass was not prepared to match the blockbuster £700m bid Nomura, the ambitious Japanese bank, made for William Hill.

However, as a leisure industry analyst put it: "Bass has got to do a deal. It is not enough to stand still and wait for organic growth. Bass needs to show investors it can make a successful acquisition to get the share price moving in the right direction."

Bass has plenty of financial firepower to launch a big takeover. When it announced its interim results in June it revealed it had gearing of just 26 per cent.

New targets, however, have so far proved elusive. Weekend reports suggested that Bass had run a slide-rule over InterContinental, the international hotel chain owned by Japanese conglomerate Seibu Saison, which it could marry with its own Holiday Inn chain. But Bass has yet to hold any serious talks with InterContinental, according to industry sources. First Leisure and Rank have also been tipped as likely targets, although any deal is far from certain as both groups are intent on maintaining their independence.

Bass dearly wants to expand its hotel and managed pub operations which have been the group's main profit driver in recent years. It is investing heavily in Holiday Inn around the world and set up a brand, Staybridge, to cater for the long-stay market. Blocked from expanding its brewing interests in the UK, Bass is investing heavily in beer production in China and the developing world. Continental Europe is another target, although its plans to take over a chunk of the Czech Republic beer market have been lighted by another battle with Nomura, which has similar ambitions.

Meanwhile, some of Bass' existing businesses need close attention. Coral, its betting chain, sits uncomfortably as the third-biggest bookie behind Ladbrokes and what promises to be a rejuvenated William Hill. Its Gala bingo division has suffered, along with the rest of the industry, from the National Lottery. And profits from its tenanted pub estate are only growing at a pedestrian rate. Speculation is mounting that one or all of these businesses could be sold off to augment the group's war chest.

Export orders fall sharply for small manufacturing firms

New export orders for Britain's small and medium-sized manufacturing businesses fell over the past four months at their fastest rate since 1978, according to a Confederation of British Industry survey to be published today. A negative balance of 29 per cent of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) said their export orders had fallen sharply over the past four months, compared with a negative balance of 25 per cent in the four months to July and just 2 per cent a year ago. Exports are expected to fall further over the coming four months, although at a slower rate. Tony Bonner, chairman of the CBI's SME council, said: "Our survey paints a disturbing picture for small and medium enterprises who export."

Autologic heads to market

Autologic Holdings is coming to the market this winter with a placing that will value the vehicle logistics group at around £65m and raise £30m of new money. Autologic is the UK market leader in the provision of distribution and technical services to vehicle manufacturers, importers and fleet operators. In the half year to June, it made £4.3m profit before tax on turnover of £40.9m. In the year to December 1996, profit before tax was £2.4m on turnover of £73.6m. Last year, the company handled more than 890,000 vehicle movements, processed 300,000 vehicles through its technical service centres and carried out pre-delivery inspections on 4 per cent of all vehicle registrations. The company operates from 24 locations and has 1,700 employees.

Liberty chief may be ousted

The founding family of Liberty, the upmarket Regent Street store, and Bryan Myerson, the aggressive investor who specialises in turning troubled companies around, have joined forces to demand the resignation of Denis Cassidy, the group's chairman. The Stewart-Liberty family and Concorde Capital Corporation, which represents Mr Myerson's family interests, are instigating a boardroom shake-up of the troubled group. The two groups, an Extraordinary General Meeting to oust Mr Cassidy and appoint Mr Myerson and Odile Griffith, the Liberty family's financial adviser, as non-executive directors.

Brits spend £350 on clothes

UK consumers spend less on clothing than their Continental counterparts, according to a report by Corporate Intelligence on Retailing. On average the British splash out £350 a year on clothes, compared to more than £500 in countries such as Germany, Italy and Belgium.

Mergers 'poorly thought out'

Lack of early planning for restructuring and integration following a merger or acquisition threatens the success of such deals according to a new survey of European companies by KPMG Management Consulting. The research found that planning for restructuring of the merged group was often poorly thought out and underfunded. In addition key areas such as information technology were largely ignored.

NatWest to launch fund

NatWest and Gartmore will today announce the launch of the first instant-access cash fund to be offered by a UK clearing bank. The NatWest Sterling Fund is aimed at corporate clients with £50,000 or more of surplus funds to invest.



**JOHN
CHAPMAN**
ON HOW
BRITISH
INDUSTRY
SPENDS ITS
MONEY

Joining the single currency could boost R&D

New analysis has thrown light on the alleged short-termism of the City and British industry which, it is claimed, sees companies spending too much on dividends and too little on research and development (R&D) and investment. It shows that in comparison with companies in Europe, the USA and Japan, our leading companies generally face higher costs of funds and carry out lower levels of R&D. The findings raise a number of questions. Are the costs of funds in the UK too high? Do they drive down levels of R&D by UK listed companies? Finally, would joining EMU lead to lower dividends and higher R&D?

Many who have recognised our ingrained short-termism have despaired at doing anything effective about stopping the downward drift in our technological competitiveness. But now one potential solution shines out like a beacon. European Monetary Union would involve a convergence of interest rates and costs of funds and UK membership could result in a driving down of the costs of funds to our companies, and a release of resources for R&D and investment. It would oblige attitudes to shift towards securing longer-term rewards.

The basis of the new analysis is the R&D Scoreboard, which I initiated seven years ago for the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI). The latest version, published in June this year, sets out the R&D and costs of funds - mainly dividends plus interest - for all firms reporting R&D in the UK. It also shows the R&D and costs of funds for the top

300 companies carrying out R&D worldwide. By dividing R&D by sales, and costs by sales, ratios are derived which enable comparisons to be made between very different companies.

For international comparisons, I have focused on companies in the top 300. Within five main R&D spending sectors the UK has 12 top 300 companies - Glaxo Wellcome, SmithKline Beecham and Zecca in pharmaceuticals, ICI and BOC in chemicals, GEC and Racal in electronics and electrical equipment, Rolls-Royce, British Aerospace and Siebe in engineering, and LucasVarity and GKN in engineering - vehicles.

In general, the R&D/sales ratios of these companies are well above the average ratios for the remaining UK listed companies in each sector.

The average R&D/sales ratios and costs of funds/ratios for top 300 companies have been calculated for the UK, Germany, the rest of the European Community, the rest of Europe, the USA and Japan for the five main R&D sectors. The results are shown in the table on the right.

The table shows that the costs of funds ratios for top UK companies are higher than the world ratios for top 300 companies in all sectors except chemicals. Conversely, the UK R&D ratios are lower than world ratios in all sectors except electronics and electrical equipment.

Specific comparisons can be made for all sectors between the UK and Germany, the UK and the rest of the EC, the UK and the rest of Europe, the UK and the

USA, and the UK and Japan. These show that the UK has higher costs of funds ratios in 19 comparisons, the same in one and lower in four comparisons.

The UK has lower R&D ratios in 17 comparisons and higher in seven. In 13 comparisons the higher UK costs of funds is accompanied by lower R&D ratios, while in six comparisons there are both higher costs and higher R&D. There are some comparisons where the differences are small, but if differences under 1 per cent were ignored UK costs of funds would still be higher in 16 out of the 17 remaining comparisons and UK R&D ratios lower in 14. The main findings of the analysis are that:

1 UK costs of funds ratios are higher in all comparisons with Germany and Japan, and also in the majority of comparisons with other European countries and the USA.

2 In contrast, UK R&D ratios are lower in most comparisons. UK ratios fare most poorly against Germany and non-EC European countries. They are particularly low in chemicals, engineering - vehicles and in pharmaceuticals.

3 In half the comparisons, higher costs of funds are accompanied by lower R&D. In some other cases, however, companies have overcome the handicap of higher costs of funds to give R&D averages higher than in some countries.

How are costs of funds made up? For UK companies in the top 300, the dominant element is dividends for pharmaceuticals, electronics and electrical equipment and engineering - vehicles.

Dividends averaged about 80 per cent of costs of funds in 1996. Do such dividends, interest payments and other financial outgoings squeeze out R&D? Or do higher dividends and higher interest rates push up target rates of return so that UK listed companies have fewer R&D projects that appear attractive - at least to them? Either way a connection can be drawn between high costs of funds and lower R&D.

The overall picture is alarming. With high dividends, company share prices may rise, presenting images of strength and good prospects. But if R&D levels are low, such images may be illusory as companies face growing technological gaps behind their competitors.

What can be done? Fundamental shifts in attitudes and to resources are needed. One very effective way of bringing about such shifts would be joining EMU. Some of the starkest comparisons in this analysis are between UK and Germany. UK costs of funds ratios range from 50 per cent to more than 300 per cent higher than German ratios. Comparisons with the rest of the EC are less one-sided, though the UK cost ratios are higher in three sectors. If we did join EMU, would the costs of funds in EC countries be forced up, or would the costs of funds in the UK be forced down? The economic weightings should ensure that UK costs were forced down and UK short-termism could then be tackled.

John Chapman is former secretary of the DTI's Innovation Advisory Board.

International comparisons of R&D and cost of funds (by country for top 300 R&D companies)

	Average cost of funds (% of sales)	Average R&D (% of sales)	Total (£bn)
Pharmaceuticals			
UK (3 companies)	11.7	11.7	2.53
Germany (1)	2.8	18.0	0.36
Rest of EC (1)	8.8	18.1	0.80
Rest of Europe (1)	11.4	15.3	1.05
USA (3)	10.7	11.3	1.84
Japan (8)	1.9	10.0	1.36
World (18)	8.8	12.2	8.09
Chemicals			
UK (2 companies)	4.6	2.0	0.29
Germany (7)	3.1	6.6	4.67
Rest of EC (6)	5.3	7.1	2.12
Rest of Europe (4)	5.2	7.2	1.84
USA (16)	5.9	5.3	5.30
Japan (13)	2.3	4.4	2.02
World (48)	5.2	7.2	16.27
Electronics and electrical equipment			
UK (2 companies)	5.8	6.9	0.50
Germany (3)	1.6	7.7	4.06
Rest of EC (8)	2.6	6.1	4.10
Rest of Europe (2)	4.4	9.0	0.56
USA (38)	4.1	5.9	14.46
Japan (19)	1.7	5.9	12.98
World (72)	2.7	6.2	36.66
Engineering			
UK (3 companies)	3.3	3.7	0.50
Germany (4)	1.5	1.4	0.64
Rest of EC (7)	3.5	3.6	1.07
Rest of Europe (4)	3.0	6.4	1.78
USA (25)	3.1	4.2	5.68
Japan (19)	2.2	4.9	4.33
World (58)	2.5	4.0	14.11
Engineering - vehicles			
UK (2 companies)	3.6	3.6	0.20
Germany (3)	2.0	4.6	3.95
Rest of EC (6)	2.3	3.9	3.41
Rest of Europe (0)			
USA (10)	3.6	4.9	11.28
Japan (3)	0.9	5.3	1.99
World (24)	2.9	4.7	20.73

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Van Gogh fraud may be art world's worst nightmare

One of the world's most expensive paintings may be a fake. The Van Gogh depiction of sunflowers bought by a Japanese firm for £25m could be the work of an embittered French art teacher. Michael Streeter finds there are similar question marks over works attributed to Cezanne and Gauguin.

Look at the painting on the right. It is a fake self-portrait of Van Gogh by the notorious hoaxer Tom Keating and yet may be "worth" a reasonable sum. Some of his works have fetched as much as £25,000, even if artistically they may be considered rather snifflily.

The unmasking of hoaxers such as Keating, and Dutchman Han van Meergeren, the infamous faker of Vermeer paintings, have periodically raised questions about the way we look at art and its intrinsic value.

However, the story of this latest fake, if it is proven, has the potential to eclipse all the others – and just possibly have a significant impact on the price of post-impressionist paintings.

One can only guess the sinking feeling experienced by executives at the Yasuda Fire and Marine Insurance Company when they heard the news that the beautifully coloured painting of 14 sunflowers they acquired through a Christie's auction 10 years ago, at the fabulous but inflation-proof price of £24.7m may not be a Vincent Van Gogh at all. But a Schuffenecker.

Schuffenecker? In a television documentary last night, the art writer Geraldine Norman stated her belief that an obscure Parisian art teacher by the name of Claude-Emile Schuffenecker has perpetrated one of the greatest frauds in art history.

Ms Norman, former sale-room correspondent of *The Independent*, is all but certain that the Frenchman is the author of the painting, one of three depicting 14 sunflowers attributed to Van Gogh. (There were seven in all – two others with 12 flowers, one with five and one with three. However, the "third" version of the 14 flowers was never mentioned by Van Gogh in his letters.)

If the claim is true – and neither the owners nor the Seiji Togo Yasuda Kasai Museum of Art were commenting on the reports yesterday – then clearly the "Yasuda Sunflowers" is



Self-portrait. Or not, as the case may be. The picture above is a fake, painted by the notorious art forger Tom Keating (below)



worth nothing like the £24.7m it fetched at auction.

Where does this leave the fake?

Ms Norman herself concedes that, if truly his work, then the sunflower painting is Schuffe-

necker's "undisputed masterpiece". Thus may not be saying much about an unknown art teacher, but his version of the sunflowers has certainly been good enough to fool experts for many years – the painting was

first exhibited as long ago as 1901, 11 years after Van Gogh's death.

Schuffenecker, who left stockbroking, along with his friend Paul Gauguin to concentrate on their painting careers, may have got his inspiration from restoring Van Gogh's original version of the 14 sunflowers, now in the National Gallery in London.

Interestingly, Van Gogh himself made a copy of this 1888 painting a year later, which is in the family collection in Amsterdam. This raises other questions.

Just what exactly is the difference in status between Van Gogh's own copy of his work, and Schuffenecker's attempt? Clearly, as one was intended to deceive it is different – and hence a fake – but its artistic status is a separate matter.

According to Michael Daley, of Artwatch UK, which campaigns against had art restorations, the key characteristic of well-known hoaxers, such as Tom Keating and Eric Hehborn, is the lack of quality. "They are very poor – it's amazing that they ever deceived anyone."

He says one of the "crazy things" about the art world is the way that known fakes can fetch money. "Essentially they are famous for being famous fakes," he said.

However, apparent discoveries like the Schuffenecker fake also dent the confidence of the art world. "Hoaxes can strike at the heart of art," said Mr Daley. "It shows that there is a fault line in the universe, and raises disturbing questions about how we view the whole edifice of art."

In the current case, there may be more fault-lines to come. According to Ms Norman there are some reasons, as yet uninvestigated, to suggest that Schuffenecker may not have been content simply with faking Van Gogh's. He may have turned his hand to churning out paintings purporting to be by his old friend Gauguin, and also Cezanne.

Such a fear, if substantiated, could have a major effect on the market for post-impressionist paintings, said Ms Norman. How much? "That remains to be seen," she added.

In the meantime, the Japanese owners of the sunflowers painting must hope that Schuffenecker, who was previously better known for being painted by Gauguin, becomes a major name in his own right. However, although fakes can fetch respectable prices – a van Meergeren recently sold for £45,000 – they are dwarfed by the huge sum the Japanese insurance company paid out just 10 years ago.



Photograph: Reuters

Sunflowers: But was the £24.7m price-tag worth paying?

MARCO POLO.

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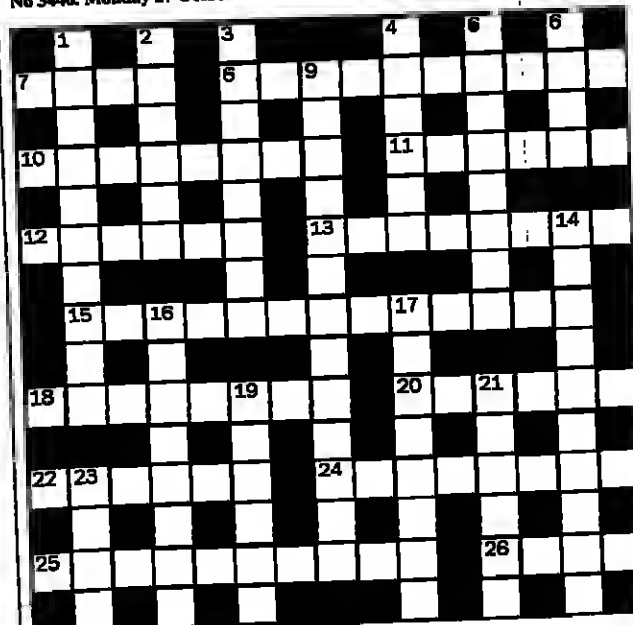
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THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD

No 3440, Monday 27 October

By Porcia



24 Accepted fresh lot get unfair treatment (1,3,4)
25 Red coats ordered by a number of priests (10)
26 Swear to prevent tenor leaving (4)

DOWN

1 A strange hirsute academic got in, though untrained (10)
2 French artist's hiding note in drawer (6)
3 Trainee is taken in by reserve soldier's charm (8)
4 Crook's about to land on Scottish island (6)
5 Fur fabric (8)
6 Told to transport goods to meeting place (4)
9 Follows rest and is stuck – what a mess (4,9)
14 I daren't be silly carrying one that's loaded (10)
16 Working class student? (8)
17 Dodey international organisation firm is linked to (8)
19 Remaining act ham it up (6)
21 English river reached by sea route (6)
23 Giving up processed cheese (4)

ACROSS

7 From them may come novel solution (4)
8 Extra sum of money American pocketed (10)
10 Deputy ends up with key position (8)
11 Energy the Spanish dramatist possesses is given without stinting (6)
12 Business tax (6)
13 Be initially short of lace to make evening dress (5,3)
15 One gains new importance as a result (2,11)
18 Plant a man's shovels in jar (8)
20 Doctor's seized by painful melancholy (6)
22 Isn't against worker getting out sooner (6)

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